

The Oxford Manuals of English History

Edited by C. W. C. OMAN, M.A., F.S.A.

No. VII

MODERN ENGLAND

(1832-1909)

BY

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"A Brief Survey of European History" &c.

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THE OXFORD MANUALS OF ENGLISH HISTORY

EDITED BY C. W. C. OMAN, M.A., F.S.A.

Fellow of All Souls College

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GENERAL PREFACE

There are so many School Histories of England already in existence, that it may perhaps seem presumptuous on the part of the authors of this series to add seven volumes more to the number. But they have their defence: the "Oxford Manuals of English History" are intended to serve a particular purpose. There are several good general histories already in use, and there are a considerable number of scattered "epochs" or "periods". But there seems still to be room for a set of books which shall combine the virtues of both these classes. Schools often wish to take up only a certain portion of the history of England, and find one of the large general histories too bulky for their use. On the other hand, if they employ one of the isolated "epochs" to which allusion has been made, they find in most cases that there is no succeeding work on the same scale and lines from which the scholar can continue his study and pass on to the next period, without a break in the continuity of his knowledge.

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any two or more of them in successive terms or years at the option of the instructor. They are kept carefully to the same scale, and the editor has done his best to put before the various authors the necessity of a uniform method of treatment.

The volumes are intended for the use of the middle and upper forms of schools, and presuppose a desire in the scholar to know something of the social and constitutional history of England, as well as of those purely political events which were of old the sole staple of the average school history. The scale of the series does not permit the authors to enter into minute points of detail. There is no space in a volume of this size for a discussion of the locality of Brunanburgh or of the authorship of *Junius*. But due allowance being made for historical perspective, it is hoped that every event or movement of real importance will meet the reader's eye.

All the volumes are written by resident members of the University of Oxford, actively engaged in teaching in the Final School of Modern History, and the authors trust that their experience in working together, and their knowledge of the methods of instruction in it, may be made useful to a larger public by means of this series of manuals.

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MODERN ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

AFTER THE REFORM BILL, 1832-7

The reign of William IV, like that of William III, marks a transition from one epoch to another. While the Revolution of 1688 placed the chief power in the hands of the upper classes, that of 1832 placed the political supremacy in the hands of the middle classes. William IV's reign (1830-7) was therefore a transitional period, during which political parties gradually adapted themselves to the new state of things marked by the advent of the middle classes to a position of paramount influence in the government of Great Britain. This change was brought about by the Reform Bill of 1832, after which the House of Commons became more representative than before. Patrons no longer chose representatives, the great towns began to share in political life, the publication of the parliamentary debates increased, and in every department a new activity was observable. The middle classes now sent their representatives to the House of Commons, but the poor in the country and in the town were not as yet electors.

William IV's
reign a period of
transition, 1830-7.

The reign of William IV was marked also by a

religious revival, which had an immense influence throughout the century. This reign, moreover, saw the spread of liberal principles in various parts of Europe.

In France Charles X had been forced to give way to Louis Philippe, who, as the result of the rising of the middle classes in Paris in July, 1830, had been declared king. Risings in Europe. Risings against despotism in various forms had taken place in Germany, in Poland, and in Italy, while Belgium, in consequence of the tyrannical rule of the Dutch king, had broken away from Holland, and established her independence under a king of her own. In Poland and in Italy attempts were made to overthrow the rule of the foreigner. But no success attended these efforts. The Russians remained in possession of Poland, and the Austrian rule in Italy withstood all attacks.

The passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 and the reform of the Poor Law were shortly afterwards followed by the fall of Lord Grey's After the Reform Bill, 1832. ministry. The success of the Reform Government, and the energy which it had shown in carrying many admirable reforms, had led to the general expectation that its tenure of power would extend over many years. In 1833, however, the question of the Irish Church exposed the weakness of the Whig party. A motion attacking the revenues of that Church led to the secession from the ministry of Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Ripon (Lord Goderich). Though the vacant offices were filled, and though the Government gained in homogeneity, the retirement of Stanley (afterwards Earl of Derby), "the most brilliant debater in the House of Commons",

and Graham, an excellent administrator, inflicted a serious blow upon the popularity and prestige of the ministry.

Over the question of re-enacting the Coercion Bill of 1833 for Ireland the ministry was divided, and Viscount Althorp, disliking the re-introduction of the measure, resigned. Retirement of
Althorp and
Grey, 1834. The next day Lord Grey, who was now seventy years old, himself resigned. Grey was weary of political life, for which he was not especially well fitted, not being a good administrator, and being, moreover, somewhat capricious and undecided. He disliked the violent attitude of the Radicals, and since the passing of the Reform Bill he had busied himself mainly with Foreign Politics. The resignation of Althorp decided him to leave the new world which he had assisted in making and in which he had never felt at home.

Althorp himself was, like Grey, a Liberal in politics. He was no orator, but a man of considerable tact and ability. He had introduced the Reform Bill and the new Poor Law in the House of Commons, and had won in a very remarkable degree the full confidence of the members. He disliked political life, from which he had attempted to escape at the time of the retirement of Stanley and Graham. In July, 1834, he gladly seized the opportunity afforded him by the tangle into which Irish affairs had fallen, and resigned.

Though the Reform ministry will always be famous, its hold on the affections of the people, at the time of Grey's retirement, had sensibly weakened, through the gradual reorganization of the Tory party under Peel, and its attitude on the Church question.

In July, 1834, after Grey's resignation, Lord Melbourne reconstructed the old ministry, which Althorp reluctantly re-entered. Till November, 1834, Lord Melbourne remained in office, and signalized his tenure of power by setting in motion the new Poor Law, the Bill for which had been introduced by Althorp in April. The new Act checked the granting of indiscriminate outdoor relief, and reorganized the relations of the Government and the counties with regard to poverty and pauperism. Since 1795 a system of outdoor relief had been in force which vastly increased pauperism. Workhouses were now set up, and applicants for charity, with the exception of a "few aged and impotent persons", were compelled to enter them. The result was that the cost of poor relief was enormously lessened. In spite of this excellent measure the Government was never popular. Deep discontent existed among the lower orders, who hated the new Poor Law, and were disappointed to find that the Reform Bill had not been followed by social changes beneficial to the working classes. Moreover, the Church policy of Melbourne's ministry had roused alarm throughout the country. The dissenters were dissatisfied with the attempts of the Government to grant them relief, while all churchmen opposed a party which regarded the Church as a political institution.

Already a small group of men in Oxford, headed by John Keble, had drawn up an address (signed by 7000 of the clergy) to the Archbishop, in which the retention of the doctrines, services, and discipline of the Church of England was insisted on. Enthusiasm for the Church was

Melbourne's first
ministry, July-
November, 1834.

The "Tracts
for the Times".

at once aroused in all parts of England, and William IV declared that he would maintain the doctrines of the Church of England. The leaders of the movement then began to issue the famous "Tracts for the Times", and so acquired the name of Tractarians. By this time a great humanitarian measure had been enacted—the abolition of slavery in the British dominions beginning in 1834. In the West Indies the enfranchisement of the negroes was vigorously opposed by the planters, many of whom were ruined by the abolition of slavery.

Divided among themselves, the Melbourne ministry was weakened in the autumn by a quarrel between the Chancellor (Lord Brougham) and Lord Durham, and also by the removal of Viscount Althorp to the House of Lords as Earl Spencer. With Althorp's removal from the House of Commons a serious crisis had arrived. Melbourne was well aware of the value of Althorp's presence in the Lower House, and in a letter to the King stated that the Government was "mainly founded on the personal weight and influence of Lord Althorp in the House of Commons, and that foundation was now withdrawn". William IV, who disliked the Church views of the ministry, especially those of Russell, and who was much irritated at Brougham's quarrelsome conduct, dismissed the ministry in November, 1834. He, however, treated Melbourne with great cordiality, and commissioned him to summon the Duke of Wellington to Brighton, where he was then residing.

Though Melbourne's first Premiership had only lasted a few months, that statesman was destined to hold the chief position in the country for many

Fall of the Melbourne ministry,
November, 1834.

years. Though he had acted as Irish Secretary under Canning in 1827, Melbourne was essentially a Whig, holding liberal views with regard to equality and religious liberty. He was far removed from Whigs of an advanced type, such as Russell, and rarely, if ever, initiated reforms. Under an attitude of indifference he concealed a real anxiety to follow the right course. "His exuberant vitality and raciness were not more marked than the vein of thoughtfulness and melancholy, his boisterous heartiness not more characteristic than his tenderness and general scepticism."¹

With the dismissal of Melbourne a political crisis of importance had suddenly arisen. The King sent for the Duke of Wellington, who advised the formation of a ministry under Peel, who was then at Rome. Peel had belonged to the progressive body of Tories who served under Lord Liverpool. The son of a Lancashire millowner, Peel early showed businesslike abilities. He had opposed Parliamentary Reform, but had supported Roman Catholic Emancipation. He was a capable, conscientious man who ruled his followers with firmness. On November 26 Peel left Rome, and he arrived in London on December 9. He at once formed an administration, with Lyndhurst as Lord Chancellor, and Wellington as Foreign Secretary. He himself undertook the duties of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. William Ewart Gladstone was appointed Junior Lord of the Treasury, and William Mackworth Praed and Sidney Herbert were made joint Secretaries of the Board of Control. The Reform

Peel's ministry,
December, 1834-
April, 1835.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, p. 665.

Act was recognized as "a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question", and in his election address Peel declared that he was for "reforming every institution that really required reform, but he was for doing it gradually, dispassionately, and deliberately, in order that the reform might be lasting". The old-fashioned Toryism was thus a thing of the past. The new Parliament met in February, 1835, and though the position of the Conservatives was improved the Liberal majority was still considerable. The latter numbered 380 and the Conservatives 273. Till April, Peel withstood the attacks of the Liberals, who were led in the Commons by Lord John Russell, whose power and skill as a debater was now first recognized. But being defeated on a question concerning the surplus revenues of the Irish Church, Peel resigned, and Lord Melbourne again became Prime Minister.

On his resignation Peel made a notable declaration which expressed broadly and accurately the principle of parliamentary supremacy—"according to the practice, the principle, and the letter of the Constitution", he declared, "a Government should not persist in directing the national affairs, after a loyal attempt, contrary to the decided opinion of the House of Commons, even when it possesses the confidence of the King, and a majority in the House of Lords".

Constitutional
principle
asserted.

Melbourne's second ministry was very similar to his first, with one notable exception, namely, that Brougham was not included in it. His uncertain and fierce temper, his overbearing manner, his lack of dignity and prudence—all combined to make him a very undesir-

Melbourne's
second ad-
ministration,
1835-41.

able colleague. He, however, avenged himself by uniting with Lyndhurst in attacks upon the Whig ministry, who were but feebly defended by Melbourne. In the House of Commons, Russell, the Home Secretary, held his own against the onslaughts of Peel, Graham, and Stanley, who had now definitely joined the Conservative party, while Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, proved fully equal to the heavy responsibilities of his office.

The most important measure passed by Melbourne's second administration was the Municipal Corporations

Act, which did for the boroughs what the Municipal Corporations Reform Bill of 1832 had done for the counties. At this time the Municipal Corporations were corrupt, elected by only a few voters, and thus did not represent the majority of the inhabitants, while many large towns had no real position as boroughs governing themselves. In 1835 the Municipal Corporations Act thoroughly reformed the towns, and a great impetus was given to local self-government.

In 1836 the Tithe Commutation Act was passed. In Ireland tithes were payments made by the peasantry (mainly Roman Catholic) for the support of the Established Church, and were consequently very unpopular. "It provided for the commutation of tithes

in kind into a rent charge upon the land, payable in money and reckoned according to the average price of corn for the seven preceding years." The Irish Tithe Bill, owing to the opposition in the House of Lords, had, however, to be abandoned for the present, and only became law in 1838 in a modified form. No important reforms were carried during the remainder of the reign except the reduc-

tion of the duty on newspapers, with a consequent vast increase in their sale, and the regular publication of the division lists of the House of Commons.

The close of William IV's reign witnessed not only an important and far-reaching revival in the English Church, under the lead of the Tractarians, but also the gradual formation of a strong Conservative party in the country as well as in Parliament, under the lead of Peel. In foreign affairs the outlook for Great Britain in 1837 was not very satisfactory.

The relations of Great Britain with France were based on no very solid foundation, while between Great Britain and Russia there still existed feelings of mistrust, which were not removed till 1840. In April, 1835, when Palmerston again took charge of the Foreign Office, Europe was still divided into two camps. The French Revolution of July, 1830, which placed Louis Philippe on the throne of France, and the Belgian Revolution of August, 1830, which ended in the separation of Holland and Belgium, had received the full approbation of the Whigs, and Britain and France stood united in favour of constitutional monarchies.

The three Eastern powers—Russia, Prussia, and Austria—had viewed the development of liberal opinions in France and in various other parts of Europe with hostility. A revolution in Poland had been suppressed by Russia in 1832, and the Polish Constitution abolished. Revolutionary movements in Germany and Italy had been checked, and in October, 1833, at Berlin, the "Holy Alliance" had been formally renewed, while in September, 1833, the Convention of Münchengrätz, the object of which was the preservation of the

Foreign
policy in
William IV's
reign.

The
European
Situation.

Ottoman Empire, had been signed. In April, 1834, France, Britain, Spain, and Portugal formed the Quadruple Alliance. Europe was thus divided into two camps, and apparently the relations of the Powers composing each of the two Alliances or Leagues were diametrically opposed.

But while Palmerston had no desire to break with Russia and Austria, the Tsar Nicholas was ever anxious to come to terms with Britain.

The Treaty
of Unkiar
Skelessi, 1833.

The chief difficulty in bringing about a renewal of cordial relations between Great Britain and Russia lay in the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, between Russia and Turkey, and signed on July 8, 1833. By that treaty Russia secured Turkey from the aggressions of Mehemet Ali, the ambitious ruler of Egypt, and established herself as the Protector of the Ottoman Empire. In December, 1834, the accession to office of Peel's Conservative Government seemed to presage the surrender on the part of Russia of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. But the return of Palmerston to office in April, 1835, seemed likely to lead to fresh difficulties with Russia—for Palmerston's views about "Russian aggressiveness" and his sympathies with "oppressed peoples" were well known.

Thus, when, on June 20, 1837, William IV died and Queen Victoria came to the throne, the relations between Great Britain and Russia were

Death of
William IV,
June 20, 1837.

by no means on a friendly basis, and the anti-Russian views of Palmerston were shared by the majority of Englishmen. That the crisis of the Reform Bill had passed off quietly was due in great measure to the conduct and character of William IV. He had been a sailor; he was

good-natured and popular. After his accession he did some eccentric things, but he always acted constitutionally.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST YEARS OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA, 1837-41

Queen Victoria was only eighteen years old, and was little known by her subjects, when she came to the throne. The only child of the Duke of Kent, a son of George III, The Accession of Queen Victoria. she had been brought up quietly in Kensington Palace. Her conduct on her accession won all hearts, the hostility existing between the Crown and the Ministers was removed, and the new reign opened with the happiest prospects. The accession of a queen to the British throne severed the last tie which connected Britain and Hanover, and Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, the British Queen's uncle, became ruler of the German kingdom. Parliament was dissolved, and the new elections gave the ministers an adequate majority. On Lord Melbourne the young Queen naturally relied, and it became the Prime Minister's duty "to educate, instruct, and form" the mind and character of his Sovereign. The early years of the Queen's reign were marked by successful foreign policy, by political troubles in Canada, India, and Ireland, and by social discontent in Britain.

The attention of Parliament was, at the beginning of 1838, directed to Canada, which had been for some

time a cause of anxiety to the British Government. In 1791 Pitt had divided Canada into two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, the latter province being originally peopled by men of French extraction. Each province had its own Governor, Legislative Council, and Assembly, and thus to a great extent the chief features of the British Constitution had been transplanted to Canada. In both provinces the demand arose for a government with responsible ministers, and when, in 1836, the British Government refused to accede to the demands of the colonists in favour of an elective Legislative Council, and passed Russell's inadequate Canada Bill in March, 1837, revolts broke out nine months later in both provinces under Papineau, the Speaker of the House of Assembly in Lower Canada, and under Mackenzie, a prominent resident in Upper Canada. In 1836 Lord Gosford and Major (later Sir Francis) Head had been sent as Governors to Lower and Upper Canada, and though the rebellions were easily suppressed, Toronto being saved, and the battle of Montgomery's Tavern won by the loyalists, there remained the danger of American intervention on behalf of the rebels. Realizing the gravity of the situation, Lord Melbourne, in 1838, sent out the Earl of Durham as High Commissioner and Governor-General of Canada. He at once issued an ordinance transporting to the Bermudas those political prisoners who had been captured during the late revolts. In so acting Durham had played into the hands of the powerful opposition at home, and the Government was unable to withstand the fierce attacks of Lord Brougham, and disallowed the ordinance. Durham, without waiting to be recalled, at

Lord Durham
and the
Canada Bill.

once resigned, and returned to England. He had barely landed before news came of a fresh insurrection in Canada, supported by an invasion from the United States. Sir John Colborne, however, suppressed this outbreak in November, 1838.

On July 20, 1839, Lord John Russell produced a Draft Bill entitled "An act to reunite the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and for the Government of Canada". This United Canada. Act, called the Union Act, received the Royal Assent in July, 1840. It was based upon a famous report from Durham, and "marks the beginning of a new era in British colonial history". By this Act the Provinces were united and governed by an Elective Assembly composed of forty-two members from each province, and by a nominated Legislative Council. Owing to this wise policy of conceding self-government to the colonies, Great Britain derived fresh strength from her connection with Canada, while Canada entered upon a new period, economic and social, in her history. In Lord Durham's report the mistake of keeping the French Canadians a separate nationality had been rightly emphasized, and the necessity of self-government, in the sense of an executive responsible to the elected representatives of the people, was insisted upon as the only means of removing the chronic disorder in the two Canadas.

In October, 1839, Lord Sydenham—hitherto known to the world as Poulett Thomson, the president of the Board of Trade from 1835 to 1839—reached Quebec, in order to Lord Sydenham
Governor-General
of Canada, 1839-41. take up his duties as Governor-General. On February 10, 1841, the Union of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada took effect,

and the Parliament of United Canada met at Kingston, which had been selected as the new Canadian capital. On September 19, 1841, Lord Sydenham died, having seen in the union of the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada the realization of his hopes.

The relations of Great Britain with the leading Continental Powers were far from satisfactory in 1837.

Britain's relations
with Russia, 1837.

Events, however, led to friendly relations between Russia and Britain which had important results. The understanding between Britain and France was never a close one—Wellington had called it a "cardboard alliance". The rift in the *entente cordiale* the Tsar immediately set himself to widen; he sent the Tsarevitch in May, 1839, on a visit to England; and shortly afterwards he dispatched an envoy to negotiate a settlement on various outstanding questions, of which that concerning the relations between Egypt and Turkey was the most pressing.

The ambition of Mehemet Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt, had only been checked temporarily by the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and he continued to build up a great Arab empire, which commanded the Euphrates Valley and the Isthmus of Suez, with himself at its head as an independent ruler.

The Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi remained a constant impediment in the way of the renewal of close relations between Great Britain and Turkey, and of the establishment of friendly relations with Russia. In 1838, when Mehemet Ali, the rebellious Viceroy, was threatening the independence of Turkey, Palmerston had advised that

Palmerston's
View.

that treaty should be merged in *some more general compact of the same nature*.¹ Palmerston's idea in 1838—which was realized later—was that Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia should “enter jointly into engagements with the Porte” and so maintain the independence of the Turkish Empire. Palmerston held that there was no likelihood of the Turkish Empire falling to pieces if left to itself. He firmly believed in the power and ability of the Turks to reform the organization of their Empire, and he believed that British policy should be founded upon the basis of “an endeavour to maintain the Sultan and to uphold the integrity of the Turkish Empire”.²

The restlessness of the Turkish Sultan and the ambitious policy of Mehemet Ali in a most unexpected manner aided both Palmerston and the Tsar to realize their objects. Within a short period after Queen Victoria's accession British influence again became a reality in Constantinople, and Russia became Britain's ally. In April, 1839, the Sultan Mahmoud determined to crush his rebellious vassal and invaded Syria. On June 24, at the battle of Nizib, in Northern Syria, the Turks were overthrown by Ibrahim, the son of Mehemet; and on June 30 Mahmoud himself died, leaving as his successor Abd-ul-Medjid, a boy of sixteen.

War between
Turkey and
Egypt, 1839.

At this crisis, rendered the more serious by the fact that the Turkish admiral had put his fleet in the hands of Mehemet Ali, the European Powers at once instructed their envoys at Constantinople to place

¹ Letter of Lord Palmerston to Lord Ponsonby, p. 282 in Bulwer Lytton's *Life of Lord Palmerston*.

² Lytton, Bulwer: *Palmerston*, p. 286.

the Sultan under the protection of Europe. But

The Quadruple Alliance of 1842. A crisis in Turkey. further united action was prevented by the attitude of France, by whom Mehemet Ali was regarded as an ally.

At this critical moment, however, the Tsar offered as the price of the British Alliance to give up the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. Palmerston, who hitherto had favoured the French Alliance, discovered the existence of a secret intrigue between Thiers (the French Minister) and the Turkish Government. He hesitated no more, and on July 3, 1840, the Quadruple Alliance between Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain was formed, to bring about the submission of Mehemet Ali and to protect Turkey.

The news of this convention almost led to a war. Public opinion in France was much excited, and the isolation of France was deeply resented. But Louis Philippe refused to go to war, and replaced Thiers by Guizot, who realized the imprudence of plunging France into war.

Meanwhile the Allies had landed troops in Syria, and in December, after a threatened bombardment of Alexandria, forced Mehemet Ali to definitely evacuate Syria and to restore the Turkish fleet. In July, 1841, the five Great Powers decided that the Dardanelles should be closed to the warships of all nations, and that Turkey should be placed under the joint protection of Europe. Thus, after a few years of unrest in the east of Europe, Turkey was saved from disruption, the alienation of the Western from the Eastern Powers had come to an end, Russia and Great Britain were on friendly terms, and the federative system was re-established.

With the close of 1840 Palmerston's diplomacy had

won a signal victory. On December 8 he wrote: "This day has brought us a flight of good news—Mehemet's sub-
mission, Dost Mohammed's defeat, and the occupation of Chusan".

Success of Palmerston's
diplomacy, 1840-1.

The second of these events—Dost Mohammed's submission—seemed to mark the success of the Whig policy in Afghanistan, though in reality that policy proved a terrible failure. At this time the British in India

War in
Afghanistan,
1840.

dominated more than half of the Indian Peninsula, but there was no solid frontier on the side of Afghanistan. At the end of 1840, however, Palmerston had some reason for hoping that Afghanistan was pacified, and that a check had been imposed upon Russia in Asia no less than in Europe. The danger to our Indian Empire from Russia was constantly before the minds of British statesmen throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century. Russian intrigues undermined our influence in Persia, and threatened to make itself felt in Afghanistan, then divided into three principalities, of which Herat, Cabul, and Candahar were the centres. An attack on Herat by Persia, encouraged by Russia, led to an embassy under Alexander Burnes to Dost Mohammed at Cabul. Herat was saved by the skill of Captain Pottinger, but Cabul did not see the establishment there of a British resident. The failure of the Burnes embassy led to an expedition to depose Dost Mohammed, in favour of Shah Sujah, the head of a rival dynasty. After encountering many difficulties, the British forces occupied Candahar and Cabul, and established Shah Sujah in place of Dost Mohammed. That prince, in November, 1840, sur-

rendered to the British envoy, Sir William Macnaughten, and withdrew to India. The policy of Palmerston apparently had been successful.

The capture of Chusan and the third of these events upon which Palmerston took credit was connected with an opium war with China.

War with China, 1840. Opium smuggling had been carried on against the wishes of the Chinese Government for many years, and had led to many regrettable incidents. The forcible measures adopted in 1839 for the suppression of the trade by one Lin, a Chinese commissioner, led to attacks and counter attacks by the British and Chinese. The arrival of a British squadron from India found Great Britain and China practically at war. Commodore Brewer thereupon declared Canton in a state of blockade, and captured, on July 9, 1840, the island of Chusan. Negotiations were shortly afterwards opened, and in January of the following year a preliminary treaty was concluded. But the British Ministry, dissatisfied with the course of events, and distrusting the good faith of the Chinese, sent out Sir Henry Pottinger to take charge of the negotiations. As the Peking authorities disavowed the treaty, hostilities recommenced, and Sir Hugh Gough attacked Canton in August, 1841.

Pottinger, who arrived at this time, ordered active operations to be undertaken, and the Chinese were defeated at all points. Nanking was on the verge of capture when the Chinese Government yielded, and on August 26, 1842, signed the Treaty of Nanking. Five ports—Canton, Amoy, Foo-Chow-Foo, Ningpo, and Shanghai—were opened to British trade—the first of

The Treaty of Nanking, August, 1842.

the treaty ports. The island of Hong-Kong was handed over to Great Britain, and the Chinese paid large sums of money for losses incurred by British merchants.

While the foreign policy of the Whigs, from the time of the Reform Bill to the fall of the Melbourne ministry in 1842, was on the whole attended with success, their domestic administration Chartism, 1838-40. was characterized by weakness. During the years preceding the Abolition of the Corn Laws the country was passing through a period of depression. The country was slowly and painfully adapting itself to the new conditions brought about by the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century. The introduction of machinery, the extended use of the steam engine, the development of manufactures, the rapid growth of population in the towns, caused widespread distress. "The working class", it has been said, "has seldom been in a more deplorable condition than it was during the years that were really those of great industrial and material progress—the years during which the first railways were being laid, the ocean-going steamship developed, the electric telegraph installed and the cheap postal system established".¹ The Reform Bill of 1832 had been carried in the interests of the middle class, which still adhered to the protective system. It was but natural that the widespread suffering among the lower classes should lead to agitation, and to political movements such as that known as Chartism. In The People's Charter, 1838. 1838 the "People's Charter" was drawn up, which embodied the demands of various sections

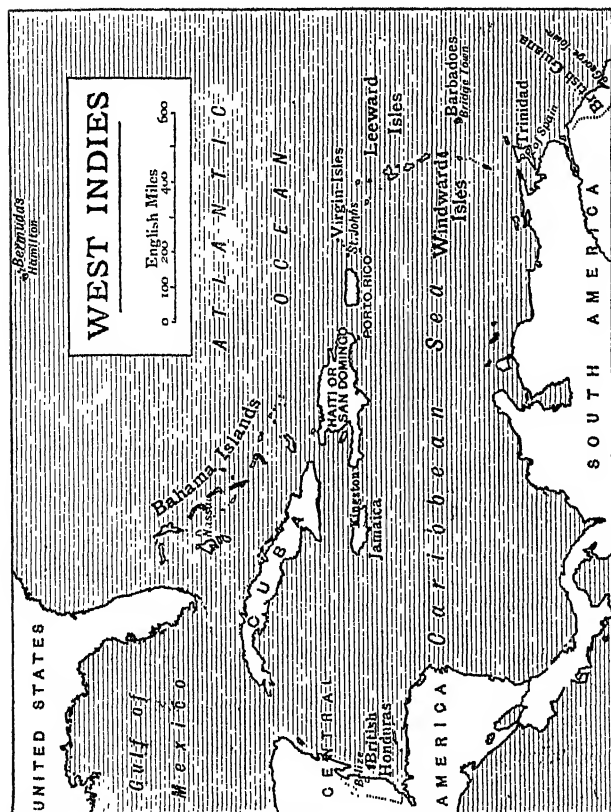
¹ Sidney Low and L. S. Saunders: *The History of England, 1837-1901*, p. 23.

of the unenfranchised masses. The Charter contained what is known as The Six Points, namely—(1) Manhood suffrage, (2) Vote by ballot, (3) Annual Parliaments, (4) The abolition of the property qualifications for Members of Parliament, (5) Payment of Members of Parliament, (6) Equal electoral districts. During the later months of the year 1838 and in 1839 Chartist meetings were held, and a monster petition was presented to the House of Commons.

When the House refused to receive it, the influence of the Physical Force Chartists, as distinguished from the Moral Force Chartists (the leaders of the latter being Feargus O'Connor and the orator Henry Vincent), became paramount, and riots broke out in various places, such as Birmingham, Devizes, and Llanidloes. At Newport, on November 3, one John Frost, at the head of some Chartists, attempted to seize the town. Mr. Phillips, the mayor, showed courage and presence of mind. The military were called upon, and after a struggle in the streets of the town the Chartists were defeated, and Frost and two of his companions were afterwards transported for life. Chartism, however, was only checked—"the industrial and social revolution went on". Several of the six points have gradually been gained. In the suppression of the Physical Force Chartists the Melbourne Government was acting with the full concurrence of Parliament, which, however, was becoming very discontented with the general policy of the administration.

For some time past the ministry had been showing increasing signs of weakness, and in May, 1839, a ministerial crisis occurred over certain difficulties

which had arisen in Jamaica. The emancipation of the slaves in 1834 did not imply an immediate eman-



cipation, and merely substituted for actual slavery a temporary system of "apprenticeship", which worked

badly and proved a failure. In 1838 Brougham urged that the modified emancipation, which was to last till 1840, should be at once ended, and the slave trade in all its forms abolished. Brougham was fully justified in his action, owing to the cruel manner in which the planters treated the apprentices, and in 1838 a considerable agitation was aroused in Britain on behalf of Brougham's proposal. The Government thereupon, in May, 1838, introduced an Act that practically put an end to slavery in Jamaica, which became the scene of much disorder and terrorism. The relations between the Jamaica Assembly and the British Government grew strained, and in April, 1839, Henry Labouchere, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, introduced a bill suspending the Constitution of Jamaica for five years. The bill was carried on May 6 by a majority of five, and in consequence of this, on May 7, the Melbourne ministry resigned.

At this crisis Melbourne advised the Queen to send for the Duke of Wellington, who on his part recommended that Peel should be asked to form a Cabinet. On May 8, Peel, in submitting the names of the members of his Cabinet, informed the Queen that some changes should be made among the ladies of her household. The Queen, on the advice of some of the outgoing ministers, declined to accede to this proposal, which she "considered to be contrary to usage, and which was repugnant to her feelings". Peel thereupon declined to form a ministry unless the Whig ladies were removed, and the Queen again consulted her late ministers. They supported the Queen, and stated

The Jamaica
Question. Fall
of the ministry,
May, 1839.

Peel and the
Bedchamber
Question, 1839.

that they were of opinion that with a change of ministry the offices held by ladies in Her Majesty's household need not be vacated. This question at the time caused great excitement, and among the Conservatives much indignation. But while the Queen's action has been endorsed by the fact that ministerial changes have not affected the personnel of the ladies of the household, with the exception of the mistress of the robes, the action of Peel at the time is intelligible and justifiable. It was doubtful if, had he taken office, he could have counted on a majority in his favour in the House of Commons; and among his political opponents he had Lord Morpeth and Lord Normanby, who both held office under Melbourne. Now, the sister of Lord Morpeth and the wife of Lord Normanby were two of the chief ladies of the royal household, and the latter was described by Peel as "his most formidable enemy".

On May 11 Melbourne returned to power, but there were several changes in the ministry. For instance, Normanby took the place of Russell at the Home Office, while Russell succeeded him at the Foreign Office. Macaulay, the historian, became Secretary of War in place of Lord Howick, and Francis Baring became Chancellor of the Exchequer instead of Mr. Spring-Rice.

Return of
Melbourne
to power.

For two more years Lord Melbourne remained in office, but his influence with the Queen was much lessened in consequence of her marriage, on February 10, 1840, to her first cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Prince Albert was the second son of Duke Ernest of Saxe-Coburg, the brother of the Queen's mother, the Duchess of Kent. Though at first the

The Queen's
Marriage,
Feb. 10, 1840.

Prince was not popular in England (and probably never popular in Ireland, where unfortunately he was little if at all known), having nothing in common with the ordinary type of English country gentleman, he soon showed by his tact and ability that he was worthy to be the husband of the Queen. His knowledge of foreign politics was considerable, and he endeavoured with success to bring the Crown into close relations with the nation.

While, after the Queen's marriage, the influence of Melbourne with his sovereign weakened, the steady decline of the ministry in popular favour simultaneously took place. Trade was bad, and the Budget brought forward by Baring, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, was severely criticized, while a proposal to reduce the sugar duty was, on May 7, 1841, defeated by 367 votes to 281. On May 27, upon a vote of want of confidence proposed by Peel, the Government was beaten by one vote. In June Parliament was dissolved, and when it again met, on August 24, the Tories had a majority of nearly eighty votes. A vote of censure being carried against the Government, Melbourne resigned on August 30. After some eleven years of Whig rule the country had decided to place the Tories in power.

The Whigs could at any rate boast of having carried many useful measures since the accession of the Queen. In 1839 they had adopted Row-land Hill's system of the penny postage, and that in spite of the indifference of Parliament and the reluctance of many able men. The Government had also passed the Irish Municipal Act in 1840, though it had to accept the franchise qualification (of

The close of
Melbourne's
Ministry, 1841.

The Whig
Record, 1837.

£10 instead of £5) insisted upon by the House of Lords.

During Melbourne's tenure of office many important events had taken place which were of imperial interest. In 1838 the capital of the newly colonized South Australia was called Adelaide, after William IV's consort, though it was not till 1851 that a constitution was granted to the Colony. In 1851 vast gold discoveries had been made near Port Phillip in New South Wales, and an enormous influx of immigrants was the result. In 1851 the Port Phillip district was made into the new colony of Victoria, and a new constitution given to it and to Tasmania. New South Wales had already obtained a constitution in 1843. In 1838 a body of Boers or Dutch farmers began to occupy the country known as Natal, but in 1842 they were dislodged by troops sent out by the Home Government, and in 1843 Natal was proclaimed a British colony.

In 1839 New Zealand was also proclaimed a colony, and in 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was concluded by Captain Hobson (who was then in charge of the new colony). By that treaty the Maoris of the North Island not only acknowledged British sovereignty, but also accepted the protection of Queen Victoria, whose representative was the British Governor of New Zealand. Henceforward the Maoris took a "recognized place among the subject populations of the Empire".¹ In 1840 Auckland, upon the North Island, was settled; in 1841 Nelson, a settlement on the Middle or South Island, was founded, and under the wise governorship

¹ Woodward: *The Expansion of the British Empire*, p. 276.

of Sir George Grey, New Zealand was rapidly and peaceably colonized.

CHAPTER III

SIR ROBERT PEELE AND THE ADOPTION OF FREE TRADE

Upon the resignation of Lord Melbourne, on August 30, 1841, the Queen sent for Sir Robert Peel, and commissioned him to form an administration. On September 4 Sir Robert Peel's ministry, 1841-6. Peel presided over a Conservative ministry strong in talent, and one that commanded the confidence of the country. The Cabinet included fifteen ministers, among whom the principal were the Duke of Wellington, who, without an office, acted as leader in the House of Lords; Lord Aberdeen, the Foreign Secretary; Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Chancellor; Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham, Colonial and Home Secretaries; and Mr. Goulburn, President of the Board of Control. Among those who were not in the Cabinet were Sidney Herbert and W. E. Gladstone, the Vice-President of the Board of Trade. Benjamin Disraeli, who was already coming into prominence as a rising politician, did not receive any office.

Peel's first duty was to deal with the financial situation. An enormous deficit, caused by the continued existence of bad trade, by the disorganized condition of the country, by the pressure of the population, and by the pro-

The financial situation.

tective tariff, faced the new ministry. Peel at once took charge of the Budget, and by means of skilful financial reforms he rapidly restored confidence in the country, though the Conservative party were much startled by his evident willingness to depart from protectionist principles.

Peel's ministry is also notable on account of the increased attention paid to the conditions under which the labouring classes lived, and of the departure from the *laissez-faire* policy of the middle classes towards the poor. The rapidly increasing populations in the large towns, the employment—often under oppressive conditions—of children in factories and mines, the harshness under which the Poor Law was often administered—all these circumstances demanded attention. In 1840 and in 1843 Lord Ashley (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury) drew the attention of Parliament not only to the conditions under which children were employed in mines and factories, but also to the necessity for improving the morals and religion of the working classes. In the following years Ashley's efforts, though opposed by the Government, were supported by many members of Parliament, such as Lord John Manners and Disraeli, whose *Sybil*, published in 1845, bears witness to the interest which the "young England" Tories took in social problems.

The religious awakening in both England and Scotland was no less marked than was the social movement among the lower orders.

During Peel's ministry the Church of England was passing through a critical period in her history. The Oxford movement, of which John Keble

was the real leader, had made its influence felt all over the country, and stimulated a general religious revival. The "Tracts for the Times" were not only directed against indifference, but were also intended to emphasize the historic connection of the English Church with the Church of the early centuries, and of the ancient Fathers. The movement termed Ritualistic was opposed by the Broad Church party, of whom Dr. Arnold was a leading representative, as tending towards mediævalism, &c., and by the Low Church or Evangelical party on similar grounds. Nevertheless it spread, and did an incalculable amount of good under the leadership of Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, and Dean Church. The year 1841 marked a crisis. Tract XC, written by Newman, the Vicar of St. Mary's in Oxford, was bitterly attacked, and in 1845 Newman joined the Church of Rome. In 1851 his example was followed by Manning, who also, like Newman, became a Cardinal. Between 1841 and 1851 the Oxford Movement continued to spread, and affected Scotland as well as England. Under its influence the work of the missionary societies developed.

In Scotland religious feeling was also stirred during these years by a dispute regarding the limits of the authority of the State and the Church. Lay patronage had become a burning question, and in 1834 the "Veto Act" was passed by the permanent Committee of the General Assembly of the Church, to enable the majority of the male communicants in every parish to veto the appointment of a minister by a patron. Those who supported this declaration

The Church
crisis of 1841.

Religious
activity in
Scotland.

were called the *Non-intrusionists*, and were headed by Dr. Chalmers. The law courts, however, supported the rights of the patrons, and a fierce quarrel ensued. An appeal made by the General Assembly, in June, 1842, elicited an able reply from Sir James Graham, the Home Secretary. While asserting that the admission of unfit candidates could be checked by powers already possessed by the Church, he denied the contention of Dr. Chalmers and the Non-intrusionists that the civil law could not set aside an ecclesiastical law passed by the General Assembly. He ended his reply by asserting that "Her Majesty's ministers were bound to declare they could not recommend the total abrogation of the rights of the Crown and other patrons".

The inevitable consequence of this reply was the "Disruption" of the Church of Scotland, on May 14, 1843, and the establishment of the Free Church. The number of ministers who remained in the Estab-

The Disruption,
and formation of
the Free Church,
May 14, 1843.

lished Church was 835, the number of those who joined the Free Church was 395.¹ Thus was consummated a remarkable movement in favour of religious liberty. To show their sympathy with the general feeling in favour of power being given to congregations to reject an unsuitable minister, the Government passed a Bill increasing the facilities for objecting to such an appointment.

In its relations with India the ministry had to deal with the effects of the mistaken policy of the Melbourne Government. Palmerston, at the end of 1840, had congratulated himself upon the satisfactory settlement of the

War with the
Afghans, 1841-2.

¹ Bright: *History of England*, Vol. IV, p. 102.

Afghan question. In accordance with that settlement British troops had been stationed at Cabul under General Elphinstone, with Sir William Macnaghten as British resident, the latter being now about to be replaced as political adviser by Sir Alexander Burnes.

In November, 1841, a general rising took place. Both Macnaghten and Burnes were murdered, and in accordance with a treaty of evacuation concluded with Akbar Khan, son of Dost Mohammed, the British, on January 6, 1842, began their retreat to India. The treaty was recognized but not carried out by the treacherous Afghans, and, out of 14,500 soldiers and camp followers, only one, Dr. Brydon, escaped from their attacks and reached Jelalabad, which was held by General Sale with a single brigade.

Meanwhile Lord Ellenborough had succeeded Lord Auckland as Governor-General. On his arrival at Calcutta, at the beginning of 1842, he heard that Sale was still holding out, and that a British force was besieged in Candahar. Sale gained a victory at Jelalabad before reinforcements reached him, Candahar was also soon relieved, and then Lord Ellenborough ordered a general retirement into India. He was overruled, however, by General Pollock, who fought his way gallantly to Cabul in September, rescued many prisoners, and triumphantly returned to India, thus gaining the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. Shah Sujah being dead, Dost Mohammed was restored.

In 1843 war with the three Amirs of Sind broke out, and in August Sir Charles Napier with a small force won a decisive victory over them at Miani, near Hyderabad. Sind was there-
Annexation of Sind, 1843. upon annexed to the Bombay Presidency.

Hostilities also took place in 1843 between the British and the Mahratta State of Gwalior. Owing to the minority of the young Scindia, the ruler of this State, disorders broke out in his dominions, and in December Sir Hugh Gough entered the Mahratta territory of Gwalior, and while he fought and won a victory over the Gwalior troops at Maharajpore, General Grey, with another force, defeated the Mahrattas in a decisive battle at Punniar. British ascendancy was thereupon firmly established at Scindia's Court, and the fort of Gwalior was placed in the hands of the British authorities.

In spite of these successes the Court of Directors of the East India Company disapproved of the conduct of Lord Ellenborough. His policy was indeed defended by Peel and praised by the Duke of Wellington, but the Directors persisted in their disapproval of the attack on Sind and of the tone of the Governor-General's dispatches.

He was therefore recalled, in May, 1844, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Hardinge. In 1845 and 1846 the Indian Government found itself involved in a Sikh war. The Sikhs were originally a sect of Hindu religious enthusiasts, who had revolted against the rule of the Great Mogul. Runjeet Singh, ruler of the Sikhs, and a friend of the British, had lately died. His successor, Dhuleep Singh, at the end of 1845 was a boy under the charge of his mother. The weakness of the Government enabled the restless Sikh army to threaten British territory, and at last to cross the Sutlej. In the battle of Mookdee, on December 18, 1845, the Sikhs were decisively beaten

War with
Gwalior, 1843.

Recall of Ellen-
borough, 1844.

Sir Henry Har-
dinge and the
Sikh War, 1845-6.

by Sir Hugh Gough, who a few days later again won a victory at Ferozeshah. The Sikh army thereupon recrossed the river, but shortly afterwards returned, only to be defeated by Sir Harry Smith in the battle of Aliwal, on January 28, 1846. They were again defeated by General Gough on February 10, in a desperate struggle at Sobraon, a fortified camp on the left bank of the Sutlej. The advance of the British troops to Lahore brought about the submission of the Sikhs. The territory between the Sutlej and Beas Rivers was surrendered to the British, a war indemnity was paid, the Sikh army was reduced, the control of both banks of the Sutlej was left in British hands. At first the internal government was not interfered with, but the intrigues and duplicity of the Queen Regent and her ministers rendered the appointment of an British Resident necessary. Sir Henry Lawrence, who was accordingly chosen for the post, proved an admirable selection, and carried out a series of reforms.

In August, 1842, the Treaty of Nanking (see p. 24) had brought to a successful close troubles in China which dated from 1837. A more serious matter was the question of the relations between Great Britain and France. That country's susceptibilities had been grievously wounded in 1840, when she found herself isolated in Europe upon the Turko-Egyptian question. The efforts, however, of Guizot, the leading French statesman, and of Lord Aberdeen, supported by the rulers of France and Great Britain, brought about a good understanding, which, however, during Peel's ministry, gave way to mutual mistrust, if not hostility. Latterly the re-

Difficulties
with France.

lations between representatives of Britain and those of France were far from cordial. In 1843 and 1844 the conduct of a French admiral—who deposed Pomare, Queen of Tahiti, annexed the Society Islands (of which Tahiti was one), and imprisoned Mr. Pritchard, an English missionary—almost led to war.

Upon Morocco the French were supposed to have designs. An Arab chief, Abd-el-Kader, had been driven from Algeria by the French, and had fled into Morocco, where he had gained recruits. The Sultan was forthwith called upon to expel Abd-el-Kader from his dominions, and to ensure acquiescence in this demand a French fleet was sent under the Prince de Joinville, a son of Louis Philippe, who held very anti-British views. In August Joinville bombarded Tangier and Mogador, and Marshal Bugeaud defeated the Moorish army. The Sultan then agreed to the demands of the French, who thereupon withdrew.

However, the Duke of Wellington and other statesmen continued to think that an invasion of England by the French might take place at any moment, and they continued to hold this opinion in spite of the pacific utterances of Louis Philippe, who, in October, 1844, visited the Queen at Windsor Castle, and did his utmost to conciliate British public opinion. Notwithstanding all his efforts the Cabinet was not won over, and their suspicions were justified later, when the question of the Spanish Marriages arose.

With the United States the Cabinet found perhaps its chief cause of anxiety. During the tenure of power by the Melbourne ministry, Palmerston had

France and
Morocco.

Louis Philippe
in England.

brought Great Britain and the United States to the verge of war. One of the subjects of dispute was the M'Leod affair. In 1840 a Canadian named M'Leod, while in New York, was seized and charged with murder, having boasted of the part taken by him in the quite justifiable destruction of an American vessel—the *Caroline*—which had aided the rebels in the late Canadian rising. Palmerston's threat that M'Leod's execution would produce war had no effect upon Daniel Webster, the American Secretary of State. After a fair trial M'Leod was acquitted.

A second matter which required adjustment arose out of a boundary question between Canada and the United States, and was settled in 1842 by the Ashburton Treaty, so-called after the name of our envoy, Lord Ashburton. But a further question connected with the western boundary remained to be settled. Both Great Britain and the United States claimed the Oregon territory, situated in the west of the North American continent, and so warm became the controversy that war seemed inevitable. In 1845, however, a compromise was arrived at, and in 1846 a treaty was drawn up, by which Vancouver Island was left to Great Britain. This settlement was announced by Aberdeen in Parliament in July, 1846, on the day of the fall of the Peel ministry.

In Wales and Ireland there were disturbances during the early years of Peel's administration. Between June and September, 1843, discontent, partly due to the Poor Law, partly to hostility to the Church, showed itself in

Difficulties
with the
United States.

The Ashburton
Treaty, 1842,
and after.

The Rebecca
Riots, 1843.

Wales in the form of the so-called "Rebecca Riots". A number of men dressed as women made a series of attacks upon the turnpikes, which were the object of general hatred. The demands of the rioters, who numbered, it is said, 100,000, included the abolition of Church rates, tithes, turnpike gates, and a change in the Poor Law. The Government, having suppressed the movement, appointed a commission to examine the causes of the discontent, and on its recommendation made considerable changes in the management of the roads.

These riots were, however, a small matter when compared with the difficulties which beset the ministry in Ireland. There, in 1840, the Repeal agitation (for the repeal of the Union of 1800 and for the establishment of an Irish Parliament in Dublin), which between 1834 and 1839 had died out, had been started afresh, and O'Connell had established a Repeal Association in Dublin. But the movement did not flourish; O'Connell was himself allied with the Whigs, and moreover was opposed to an appeal to arms. The cause of "Ireland a nation" required that stimulus which it could only get from younger and more enthusiastic men, who would demand nothing less than the independence of their country.

In October, 1842, the *Nation* newspaper was started by the "Young Ireland" party, in which was included such men as John Dillon, Gavan Duffy, and Thomas Davis. O'Connell was recognized as the leader of the movement, the Dublin Corporation declared in favour of Repeal of the Union, and the Roman Catholic bishops spoke on its behalf. So threatening did the

The Repeal
movement in
Ireland, 1842-3.

The "Young
Ireland" party.

agitation become that in May, 1843, Peel declared—in the words of Lord Althorp in 1834—most emphatically against any movement for the dismemberment of the Empire. Divisions at once arose among the Irish. Some were willing to appeal to arms—others, like O'Connell, deprecated such an extreme course. He wished by means of "monster meetings" to make it evident to the Government that a large majority of Irishmen desired the establishment of a national government in Ireland.

The Government, however, was determined to suppress a movement which threatened to destroy the union then existing between
Action of the Government, 1843. Great Britain and Ireland. Twenty-four Irish magistrates who had attended political meetings were removed from the list of magistrates. In August, 1843, the Irish Arms Bill was carried to regulate the possession of arms in Ireland. In the House of Commons Smith O'Brien, an Irish Protestant, made a remarkable speech, pointing out the evils under which Ireland suffered and asking for a governmental enquiry into the social and political condition of the island.

In consequence of the increase of the agitation the Government decided to act, and a monster meeting
The Clontarf meeting. Trial of O'Connell. called for October 8 at Clontarf, in 1843, was forbidden. A week later O'Connell and several members of his party were arrested and charged with conspiracy. On May 30, 1844, a verdict having been given against them on February 18, they were condemned by the Irish Court to imprisonment and fine. However, on September 4, the verdict was reversed by the judges in the House of Lords. O'Connell's career was now

over. His authority in Ireland had passed to the "Young Ireland" party, who advocated extreme measures; and moreover his health was rapidly declining.

For a few years Irish disaffection ceased to raise its head. A Royal Commission, under the Earl of Devon, was appointed to examine The Devon Commission, 1844-5. into the land question and the state of the law in Ireland. The real grievances of Ireland were mainly economic, and this fact was recognized in the Report of the Commission which was presented in 1845, and also in the measures of Peel, which led to his own overthrow and to the establishment of Free Trade.

"At the close of the year 1844 the Government of Sir Robert Peel", it is said, "stood at the height of its popularity."¹ A revival of trade Prosperity in Britain. had taken place, and the harvest had been a good one. The growing prosperity of the country was evident in the numerous railway projects under consideration, in the steady increase of the revenue, and in the disappearance of discontent among the manufacturing and industrial classes.

The year 1844, which had seen the trial of O'Connell, had already been rendered famous by the Bank Charter Act. Peel himself The Bank Charter Act, 1844. had witnessed several great commercial crises—one in 1815 and 1816, one in 1825 and 1826, and one in 1839 which it is said determined him to remodel the Bank Charter. In 1840 a Committee of the House of Commons had been appointed to consider the causes of the crisis in the preceding year. It had become clearly apparent that many of

¹S. Low and L. C. Sanders: *History of England, 1837-1901*, p. 48.

the country banks issued paper money far in excess of the gold which it was supposed to represent. As Peel had before him the fact that in 1839 every bank in the United States had suspended payment, and also the knowledge that the bullion held by the Bank of England had been reduced to a dangerously low amount, he was more than justified in making a determined effort to prevent, as far as possible, the recurrence of such crises. By the Bank Charter Act of 1844 the Bank of England was authorized to issue notes to the amount of £14,000,000, against the debt of £11,000,000 due to it from the Government, further notes only "against bullion actually in the possession of the Bank". With regard to the private banks, no restriction was placed on the issue of notes so long as they did not exceed the existing amount (£8,500,000); new banks were not allowed to issue paper money, and the weekly publication of their accounts was insisted upon. These reforms have worked well, and in times of panic the Government in power has not hesitated to afford necessary relief.

Another cause of the popularity of the Government at the close of 1844 was to be found in the Budget, The Budget of 1844. which was introduced in the preceding June, and which showed a surplus. The chief criticisms that were raised were due to the retention of the income tax, which was very unpopular, and to certain changes in the sugar duties. In the discussions that took place the interest "lies chiefly in the growing strength of the Free Trade party, and still more perhaps in the widening differences between the Government and their own most extreme supporters".¹

¹ Bright: *History of England*, Vol. IV, p. 121.

The only serious attack made on the ministry had reference to the right of the Home Secretary (Sir James Graham) to open letters.

It was asserted that the letters of Mazzini, the Italian agitator, who had found refuge in England, were tampered with. Many debates took place in August on the subject, but Sir James Graham defended himself with ability and success, and his opponents gained no advantage. The year closed with the popularity of the Government undiminished.

The attack on Graham for opening letters, August, 1844.

Parliament met on February 4, 1845, and the speech from the throne contained the following sentence: "I recommend to your favourable consideration the policy of improving and extending the opportunities for academical education in Ireland". This paragraph referred to a proposal which Peel brought forward for increasing and making permanent the grant made annually to Maynooth College, for the training of Roman Catholic clergy. Pitt had, years before, let it be understood that he was in favour of Roman Catholic emancipation, and Castlereagh had been led to further the Union on the understanding that the Roman Catholics were to receive the fullest measure of relief. But in 1800 the obstinacy of George III lost the Roman Catholics the emancipation that was practically promised them, and now in 1845 Peel's proposal, which was made in April, was vehemently opposed by a large number of his narrow-minded supporters. Gladstone, who approved of the Bill, thought, however, that in consequence of having held a different opinion in 1838 he was bound to leave the ministry. The Bill was carried in June

The Maynooth grants, 1845.

by 317 to 184, the majority being largely composed of Liberals.

Peel also during this session founded the Queen's Colleges in Ireland, for the improvement of university education, without any religious distinctions. The colleges were to be established in Cork, in Galway, and Belfast. This project of establishing these undenominational colleges met with bitter opposition both from Protestants and from Roman Catholics. The proposed colleges were stigmatized as "Godless". It has been urged that Peel would have shown greater statesmanship if, instead of occupying so much time upon education, he had expended his energies on land legislation for Ireland.

For the session was hardly over when it became known that Ireland had been visited by a potato blight, which simply meant famine of the most appalling character, as potatoes were the chief food of the Irish peasantry. That famine necessitated a large importation of corn to feed the starving population, and the dreadful scourge made its appearance in even a worse degree the next year.

Already the question of Free Trade in corn had forced its way into prominence. In 1836 an association had been formed in London to oppose the Corn Laws. In 1839 the Anti-Corn-Law League was established, having its headquarters in Manchester, its leaders being Bright, Cobden, Potter, and Wilson. Its energy was prodigious: meetings were held, pamphlets distributed, funds collected, and lectures given. An enormous hall was built in Manchester, and the Council of

Failure of the
potato crop in
Ireland, 1845.

The Anti-Corn-
Law League.

the League met twice a day for six years. The approaching famine in the autumn of 1845 finally converted Peel to the principles of the league, and on November 1 a Cabinet council was held to discuss remedial measures, rendered necessary by the crisis in Ireland. On November 6 the Cabinet again met, and it was evident that agreement among its members was impossible. Peel, Aberdeen, Graham, and Sidney Herbert wished to suspend all duties on the importation of grain, but the remainder of the Cabinet objected. In the opinion of an able historian, Peel ought to have at once resigned.¹

On November 22 Lord John Russell wrote from Edinburgh a famous letter declaring in favour of Free Trade, and it was evident that the entire abolition of the Corn Laws would be advocated by the Whig Party. On December 3 Peel resigned, but Russell failed to form a ministry, and, in order to save the country from a purely Radical Government, Peel consented, on December 20, to resume office.

Parliament met on January 20, 1846, and on January 27 Peel proposed the Repeal of the Corn Laws. His proposal was bitterly opposed by the old Tories and the representatives of the corn-growing counties.

*The Repeal
of the Corn
Laws, 1846.*

That opposition was organized by Disraeli²—who was still generally regarded as a clever adventurer—and was headed by Lord George Bentinck, a man of considerable ability, of high character, and of determined courage. In spite of violent opposition the second reading of the Corn Bill was carried on March

¹ Bright: *History of England*, Vol. IV, p. 133.

² Benjamin Disraeli was the son of an able Jewish man of letters.

27, in the House of Commons, and the third reading on May 15. Shortly afterwards, on May 28, it passed the House of Lords, where both parties realized that the terrible condition of Ireland justified the action of the Government.

A month later, on June 25, the Protectionists took their revenge. They joined the Liberals in opposing an Irish Coercion Bill, and Peel found himself in a minority of 75. On June 29, 1846, the ministry resigned.

Fall of Peel's
ministry,
June 25.

In spite of the foreign questions with which the Government had to deal, the chief questions before Peel's ministry were financial. He had most successfully restored the financial condition of the country, and his success was followed by an enormous commercial expansion, of which one illustration was the rapid development of railways between 1830 and 1845, as well as the mania for railway shares in 1845.

From a purely party point of view Peel's ministry was most important. He came into office the leader of a strong and united Conservative party. He left that party shattered and broken up into two sections—the Peelites and Protectionists. It was not till 1874 that the Conservative party regained the position which they had enjoyed during Peel's ministry.

The break-up of
the Tory party.

of a strong and united Conservative
party.

CHAPTER IV

GREAT BRITAIN AND REVOLUTIONARY
EUROPE, 1846-52

In July, 1846, Lord John Russell's ministry was formed. It remained in office till February, 1852, and witnessed many changes of the greatest magnitude at home and on the Continent. The years from 1846 to 1852 saw at home the adoption of Free Trade by Great Britain, an Irish famine followed by an Irish rebellion, the continuation of the Chartist movement, and the adoption of a plan for a great International Exhibition which was held in 1851. As regards foreign affairs, these years were all-important. The Spanish Marriage question, the revolutions which broke out all over the Continent in 1848 and 1849, the annexation of the Punjab, Colonial reforms, difficulties with Greece, the Schleswig-Holstein War, and the establishment of Louis Napoleon at the head of affairs in France, formed a list of matters of exceptional interest and importance, demanding on the part of the British Government the exercise of an unusual amount of vigilance and discretion. Of the members of Russell's Cabinet the most prominent were Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, and Lord Grey the Colonial Secretary, both men of considerable ability, and in charge of departments for the control of which considerable knowledge and tact were required.

Lord John Russell's
first administration,
July, 1846-February, 1852.

The first question which at once demanded the

close attention of the Government was connected with the affair known as the Spanish Marriages. That question had already occupied the attention of Peel's ministry, and Aberdeen had ^{The Spanish Marriages.} relied upon the good faith of Louis Philippe, who had disclaimed all selfish views in regard to the matter. Yet on August 29, 1846, it was announced that at one and the same time Isabella, the Queen of Spain (1833-68), would marry Francis of Assisi, the Bourbon Duke of Cadiz, and that the Infanta, sister of the Queen, would marry the Duke of Montpensier, the second son of the King of France. The marriages took place on October 10, and Louis Philippe hoped that the crown of Spain would eventually fall to the Montpensiers. The result of Louis Philippe's intrigue was that the relations between Great Britain and France ceased to be of a very friendly nature. In the history of the rivalry between Great Britain and France for influence in Spain, France had won a dearly bought and momentary triumph, at a time when the monarchy of Louis Philippe was being threatened with overthrow.

But the British Government had neither the wish nor indeed the intention of interfering actively in Continental affairs, and could only send ^{The Austrian seizure of Cracow, November, 1846.} a protest when Austria annexed Cracow, on November 6, thus completing the destruction of Poland. This action on the part of Austria signified the determination—not encouraged by the British Government—of checking all liberal ideas and the revolutionary movements which were on the point of breaking out in every part of Europe.

Before, however, these revolutions occupied the attention of the Government it had to deal with the affairs of Ireland. There, in 1845, had broken out, due to the partial failure of the potato crop (as already mentioned), a famine "quite unprecedented in Ireland, and perhaps never equalled in the history of any European country". In spite of the generosity of the English people, and the well-meant though ineffectual efforts of the Government, one-fourth of the population, it is said, perished from famine and consequent epidemics. The repeal of the Corn Law, in January, 1846, did nothing to alleviate the distress, for Ireland was an exporting country. Till his fall in June, Peel, however, had done all that was possible to lessen the distress in Ireland. Outrages and even murder pointed to the continued existence in many parts of the island of the old antagonism between landlord and tenant. Peel had endeavoured by means of a system of public works to mitigate the misery, but his efforts had led to serious abuses, with which his successors in the office had to deal.

The Russell ministry had no sooner been established in power than it was found that the potato blight of 1846 had brought about a condition of things worse than existed in 1845, and that thousands in Southern and Western Ireland were perishing through famine. Lack of self-reliance lay undoubtedly at the root of much of the misery from which the Irish peasantry habitually suffered; but the Government, with the best intentions, adopted measures which in the end only tended to increase the evils from which Ireland was never free. While English charity contributed vast sums

The condition
of Ireland.

Action of the
Russell ministry.

for the relief of the sufferers, the Government passed the Labour Rate Act, by which relief works were set on foot; but, in accordance with the views held at that time, the works were non-productive and useless. Though Sir George Bentinck, in February, 1847, urged that the money advanced at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent should be used for building railways, which were much needed, the Government persisted in its decision not to interfere with private interests, and ordered that the grants should be expended mainly on the making of roads, most of which were useless. Moreover, the work of superintendence was badly carried out, and waste and gross robbery were the results. Disease followed the famine. In 1847 the condition of Ireland became worse, and instead of attempting to deal with the Irish land system, which was the inherent evil in Ireland, the Government neglected to adopt any measures of permanent utility, and made no effort to improve the relations of landlord and tenant. Relief Committees were, however, formed, depots for free food and soup kitchens were established all over Ireland, and deaths from actual starvation ceased.

The Government was undoubtedly actuated by a real desire to remedy the general conditions of Ireland and to prevent a repetition of the events of 1846 and 1847. Projects were started for the reclamation of waste lands, facilities for outdoor relief were given, emigration was encouraged, the fishing industry was assisted. All restrictions upon the importation of grain into Ireland were taken away, and the Navigation Act, which confined the trade to English shipping, was suspended. Thus every obstacle to the

Activity of the
Government
in Ireland.

free importation of food into Ireland was removed. Further, in June, 1849, there was passed into law the Encumbered Estates Act, to enable heavily mortgaged estates to be sold to solvent purchasers. These new landowners, however, were often more severe to their tenants than the old ones had been, and thus in 1848 and the following years violent counsels often prevailed in Ireland, suggested partly by the revolutionary agitation on the Continent. Daniel O'Connell, whose influence in Ireland had been supreme, but who had always advocated peaceable agitation, had died in May, 1847. The "Young Ireland Party", in favour of active measures, as has been said, had lately been established, with aims opposed to those of O'Connell, and its leader, Smith O'Brien, a member of the House of Commons, organized a rising at Ballingarry, in Tipperary, in the summer of 1848. The rising was easily suppressed, and O'Brien, with several other rebels, was captured in July and imprisoned for a few years.

The history of these terrible years, 1846-9, is of considerable importance in any account of the relations of England and Ireland. The enforced emigration of large numbers

The importance of the years 1846-9.

of Irishmen led to a long-continued bitter feeling in Ireland against England. The introduction of English capital into Ireland, too, only made more marked the division of classes, and increased the hostility of the Irish towards the new landlords. The Government undoubtedly acted from the best motives, and thought that the relations between the new rich landlords and their tenants would resemble those existing in England. They learned too late

that the laws with regard to land in England were by no means applicable to Ireland.¹

In England the year 1847 was on the whole uneventful. In May Mr. Fielden introduced a Factory Act "for limiting the hours of labour of young persons between the ages of thirteen and eighteen in certain factories"; and though many influential members of Parliament, including Peel, opposed it on the ground that it was an interference with the principles of free trade, the Bill was carried by large majorities in both Houses of Parliament. In the same month Lord John Russell carried his proposal for an education grant in order to increase the efficiency of schools, and eventually to ameliorate the condition of the working classes. These measures, together with a Bill in July for the establishment of the bishopric of Manchester, concluded the chief work of the session; and on July 23, 1847, the Parliament was dissolved, having sat since 1841 for seven sessions.

The elections following the dissolution of Parliament resulted in the return of 338 supporters of the Ministry, 200 Protectionists and 120 Peelites. The latter usually voted with the Government, and were at times bitterly attacked by the Protectionists. The new Parliament met in November, 1847, and Mr. Shaw Lefevre was elected Speaker. The autumn session was necessitated by the commercial crisis through which England was passing, and by the disorganized condition of Ireland.

¹ It is estimated that during the years 1847-9 two millions of Irishmen emigrated to foreign countries and half a million came to England. In 1851 the population of Ireland was about two millions less than in 1841.

In the early autumn a monetary crisis had occurred, due partly to unwise speculation in corn and railways. But other causes, such as the failure of the cotton crop and the unexpected scarcity of money, had also contributed to the distress. In order to relieve the money market the Bank Charter Act of 1844 was suspended, and the Directors of the Bank of England were permitted to advance money beyond the legal limits imposed in their powers. Credit was gradually re-established, and the general situation steadily improved. But partly owing to the loan of £8,000,000, which the Government had raised in order to deal with the famine in Ireland, Lord John Russell proposed, in 1848, to increase the income tax. The proposal met with great opposition, the Budget was in August withdrawn, and consequently the credit of the Government, which was vigorously attacked by Disraeli, somewhat suffered. Nevertheless, at the end of the session, the Prime Minister could boast that "sedition had been checked in England, rebellion suppressed in Ireland, and foreign revolutions prevented from shaking our institutions at home".

In the spring of 1848 there was a riot in Glasgow (March 6), the Chartists again attempted to forward their cause, and a largely signed petition was in April presented to Parliament. This is an illustration of the danger of bringing mobs to Westminster on ostensible petition-presenting. There was an attempt to overawe Parliament. But the military and police arrangements, carried out by the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Maine, Commissioner of Police, were excellent, the middle classes gave the agitators no support, and Parliament took

up a firm attitude. Feargus O'Connor, the Chartist leader, realized that he had no adequate support, and the ridicule poured upon his monster petition proved the death-blow of Chartism, which owed whatever strength it possessed to the physical want which had characterized the years immediately preceding 1848. From that date the adoption of the principle of Free Trade in Corn and the action of the new Poor Law contributed to the revival of prosperity, and to the consequent feeling of contentment among the lower classes.

The stability of the British Government, however, stood in striking contrast to that of many foreign States. The year 1848 was a year of The Revolutions of 1848. revolutions in Europe. In France, Austria, Italy, Germany, and Hungary revolutionary movements took place, which, though for the most part suppressed, deeply affected the future history of the countries concerned. For some years previous to 1848, in spite of the efforts of some of the European Governments, there had been a steady growth of liberal and national ideas. In Italy, France, Austria, and Germany there was a general feeling of unrest which took different forms. In Italy all Italians desired the expulsion of the Austrians from Lombardy and Venetia, and that of the Bourbon King, Ferdinand II, from Naples and Sicily; but there was no united feeling with regard to the future government of the country. Some desired the establishment of Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, as the king of a united Italy; others, like Mazzini, desired a republican form of government. In January, 1848, an insurrectionary outbreak took place at Palermo, in Sicily, and spread to

Naples. The King, Ferdinand II, was compelled to promise a constitution, which was promulgated on February 10.

Meanwhile in France the growth of democratic and socialistic ideas among the working classes was seen in a widespread desire for parliamentary reform and the establishment of equality. For some time past the

Revolution in
France, Feb.
24, 1848.

Liberal party in France, which demanded reforms, had steadily grown. At the same time the French King, Louis Philippe, through his conduct with regard to the Spanish Marriages, had weakened his relations with Great Britain, while he had also shown sympathy with the despotic governments on the Continent. These governments were themselves threatened by popular movements, and at the beginning of 1848 Louis Philippe was unsupported by any Great Power in Europe, and had lost the confidence of the French nation. The crisis in France was immediately caused by a rising in Paris, the result of a refusal of the King to allow a reform banquet to be held. The ministry showed weakness, the mob was unchecked, the King on February 24 resigned, and a Republic, under the guidance of Lamartine, the poet and man of letters, was declared on February 26. The "bourgeois monarchy" was thus overthrown, but the leaders of the movement which had resulted in the overthrow of that monarchy had no intention of adopting the views of the extreme revolutionary and socialist party. That party, headed by men of advanced opinions, like Louis Blanc, attempted to overthrow the moderate republicans, but was compelled to fly; and General Cavaignac, with the aid of the troops,

overthrew the radicals in Paris, after some severe street fighting, in June. Peace was restored, a Republican Constitution drawn up, and in December, 1848, Louis Napoleon, nephew of the great Napoleon, was elected President of the Republic.

Meanwhile revolutionary movements of a different character had broken out in various parts of Germany, in Hungary, and indeed throughout the Austrian Empire, and their outbreak had affected the position of affairs in Italy. Fired by the example of the Parisians, the Viennese broke out into insurrection on March 13. The unpopular minister, Metternich, fell; and a Parliamentary Constitution was promulgated in Vienna. Moreover, in reply to the demands of the Hungarians, the Emperor Ferdinand granted to Hungary self-government, and promised the same gift to the Slavonic provinces of Austria. But the revolutionary movements in the Austrian Empire did not end at this point. The necessity of sending troops to defend the Austrian possessions in Italy enabled the Viennese, some of whom disliked the grant of autonomy to Hungary, some the absence of any definite recognition of democratic principles, to rise again on the night of May 15 and to summon a general assembly for the entire Austrian Empire to meet in Vienna.

The situation had now become very serious. The Emperor fled to Innsbrück, and popular movements broke out in the various portions of the Empire. The success of those movements was, however, checked by the success of the Austrians in Italy, where their general, Radetsky, won a victory over the Italians, at Custoza, on July 25, followed in March, 1849,

by another victory at Novara. In spite of the outbreak of a third insurrection in Vienna, on October 6, and of the abdication of the Emperor Ferdinand on December 2 in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph, the risings in the Austrian Empire were rapidly suppressed by Schwarzenberg, who had been appointed chief minister. The Slavs refused to ally themselves with the Hungarians, and the latter were, by the aid of a Russian army, crushed in October, 1849.

The effect of the able and masterful policy of Schwarzenberg, an influential and capable Austrian general, was to enable Frederick William, King of Prussia, to suppress the spread of democratic ideas in Germany.

Revolutionary
movements in
Germany, 1848.

In Germany one result of the French Revolution of February had been to increase the desire for popular government. But, as in Italy, opinions were divided; one party desired German unity under the King of Prussia, while another party advocated the spread of democratic ideas. Risings took place in Berlin and Munich, and in May, 1848, an assembly called the Constituent Parliament met at Frankfort, which in January, 1849, decided to exclude Austria from any share in its deliberations. This movement for the establishment of a new German Empire, however, failed; for, under the influence of Austria, Frederick William refused the imperial crown in April, 1849, and the revolutionary agitation in Germany came to an end.

Italy meanwhile suffered a similar experience. The defeat of Charles Albert by Radowitzsky at Custoza, on July 25, 1848, had been followed by the Austrian occupation of Milan, and on March 25, 1849, by

The failure of
the revolutionary
movements of
1848 in Italy.

the total defeat of the Italians at Novara, as has already been stated. Charles Albert had thereupon resigned in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel, and Austria was thus triumphant. The risings in Sicily and Naples were suppressed, the constitutions granted by the rulers of various States were overthrown, and the Italian revolutions of 1848-9 ended in disastrous failure.

During the years 1848 and 1849 Lord Palmerston had, in his conduct of foreign affairs, a difficult and delicate task to perform. Belonging to the Whig party, he was a firm believer in constitutional government, and, though opposed to anarchical and revolutionary projects, was of opinion that the various crowned heads in Europe should make concessions to their subjects. In his anxiety to persuade the European Powers to adopt his views he often acted imprudently, and received rebuffs. In certain cases, however, his intervention had beneficial effects.

Palmerston on
the revolutions
of 1848-9.

In Switzerland a civil war, the last religious war in Europe, had broken out between the Roman Catholic cantons, whose confederation was known as the "Sonderbund" (or "Separation League"), and the rest of the cantons, consisting of those that recognized the authority of the Federal Diet. Persuading the French Government to second his attempts at mediation, Palmerston secured the postponement of the design of Austria to support the "Sonderbund", and, taking advantage of the breathing-time given to it, the Federal Diet defeated its opponents and restored the unity of Switzerland.

His policy in
Switzerland.

Palmerston's attempts to further the introduc-

tion of liberal measures into Spain met with signal failure. An absolutist regime was estab-
 lished by Narvaez, and for many years ^{In Spain.}
 Britain and Spain remained on unfriendly terms.

Equally unsuccessful were all efforts to bring about desirable changes in Germany. That country was not ready for constitutional reform, ^{In Germany.}
 and neither in Austria nor in Prussia.
 were Palmerston's efforts rewarded with success.

In Italy, however, he was partially successful. In England the deepest interest was taken in Italy's efforts to free herself from Austrian ^{In Italy.}
 bondage. Palmerston, like Canning, was
 strongly averse to any attempts to interfere with a country which was carrying out a policy of reform, and as strongly convinced of the necessity of preserving the balance of power in Europe. In 1848 and 1849 events in Italy led to the exercise of diplomacy on the part of Palmerston. The revolt in Sicily against the central government at Naples, in January, 1848, led to proposals by the Neapolitan Government for British mediation, but the conduct of the Sicilians rendered mediation impossible, and this rising was suppressed by force of arms. In North Italy, where Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, headed a movement against Austrian supremacy, British mediation was unable to effect much. Palmerston hoped to induce Austria to retire from the north of Italy, but the successes of the Austrian general, Radetsky, culminating in his victory at Novara in March, 1849, destroyed for the time all hope of the establishment of Italian unity.

Palmerston's policy, which was in the main ineffective, provoked severe criticism at home. Notwith-

standing that he evinced a sympathy with reform he was attacked by the Radicals, who were indignant at the suppression of the Hungarian rising by Russia, and at the overthrow by France of the republican movement in Rome, in whose defence Garibaldi was prominent.

The year 1849 is thus important in the history of Europe, no less than in the history of Great Britain itself. While it saw the triumph of the reaction against the liberal and revolutionary movements on the Continent, it was, for very different reasons, noteworthy in British history. In 1849 the Navigation Laws, which had restricted the employment of foreign ships in British trade, were partly repealed, while in foreign politics Great Britain became entangled in the affairs of Greece over what is known as the Don Pacifico incident. In the history of Great Britain's connections with India the year 1849 marked the close of the Second Sikh War. In March, 1848, the Sikhs had risen, under Moolraj, the Governor of Mooltan, and a desperate struggle took place. Lord Gough was in command, and in 1848 won the battle of Chillianwallah, though at the expense of many lives. On February 22, 1849, his officers took the lead and defeated the Sikhs at Goojerat with little loss, and on March 12, 1849, the campaign ended with the surrender of the Sikh army and the annexation of the Punjab.

The chief interest of the Don Pacifico incident is to be found in the light which it throws upon Lord Palmerston's methods, and his relations at that time with the Court. On many important European questions Palmerston and the

The importance
of the year 1849.

The Pacifico
affair, 1849-50.

Court held widely different opinions. Towards the late risings in Italy, Hungary, and Germany, Palmerston felt a strong sympathy, while the Court, on the other hand, sympathized with Austria and with the idea of German unity under Prussia. And, further, he was always ready to defend Turkey against any interference by Russia and Austria. But when the British fleet, under Admiral Parker, at the close of 1849, coerced the Greek Government into giving satisfaction to a Jewish adventurer, Don Pacifico, a native of Gibraltar, for the destruction of his house by a mob at Athens, and to Mr. Finlay, the historian, for the seizure of his land, the opponents of Palmerston complained of his high-handed policy. During the settlement of the affair Palmerston had treated the French Government in a somewhat disrespectful manner, though the conduct of Baron Gros, the French Commissioner at Athens, had been decidedly injudicious. As a protest the French Ambassador in London was withdrawn, and for a time public feeling in England was much disturbed. A resolution hostile to the Government was carried in the House of Lords, but Palmerston's magnificent defence of his policy was accepted in the House of Commons by a majority of 46, and his reputation was henceforth assured. "From that hour Palmerston became the man of the people, and his rise to the premiership only a question of time."¹ During this debate (July 28) Sir Robert Peel made his last public speech. On the 29th he fell off his horse, and died shortly afterwards. By his death the Liberal ministry lost a wise counsellor.

Though the nation might approve of Palmerston's

¹ Lloyd C. Sanders: *Life of Lord Palmerston*, p. 138.

conduct, the Queen and Court had been long dissatisfied with his extremely independent attitude, and on August 12 the Queen sent to him a Memorandum, requiring him, *first*, to state distinctly what he proposed in a given case, in order that the Queen might know distinctly to what she was giving her royal sanction; *secondly*, not to arbitrarily alter, or modify, any measure to which she had given her consent.

The Queen's
Memorandum,
Aug., 1850.

On December 2, 1851, the French President, Prince Louis Napoleon, carried out a *coup d'état* in Paris, and established a military despotism. On December 18 Palmerston, in a dispatch to our representative in Paris, expressed his approval of Napoleon's proceedings. He had already, in a private conversation with Count Walewsky, the French Ambassador in London, informally approved of the *coup d'état*, which was not carried out without a good deal of bloodshed. During the year 1851 the Great Exhibition in the Crystal Palace was held in Hyde Park.

Louis Napoleon's
Coup d'Etat,
Dec. 2, 1851.

An opportunity was now given to the Queen and to Palmerston's colleagues, certain of whom had for some time resented his independence of action, to secure his fall, and on December 19, 1851, Palmerston was dismissed from office. His fall was regarded by the reactionary party on the Continent as a triumph. On February 3, 1852, explanations were given in Parliament, and Lord John Russell brought forward the Queen's Memorandum of August, 1850.

Palmerston's dis-
missal from office,
Dec. 19, 1851.

Palmerston, however, had not to wait long for an opportunity of reasserting his influence. On February 14 Russell brought in a bill for the reor-

ganization of the Militia, rendered advisable by Napoleon's *coup d'état*. An amendment proposed by Palmerston was Fall of the ministry, Feb. 20, 1852. carried in the teeth of the Government, and on February 20, 1852, the Russell ministry resigned.

On the fall of the Russell ministry the Earl of Derby formed an administration, which contained several distinguished men. Mr. Lord Derby's first ministry, Feb. 1852. Disraeli, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer, acted as leader in the House of Commons. Mr. Spencer Walpole was Home Secretary, Sir John Pakington Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Northumberland First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Herries and Mr. Henley respectively Presidents of the Board of Control and the Board of Trade, Lord John Manners was First Commissioner of Works, Lord Hardwick Postmaster-General, Lord Malmesbury Foreign Secretary, Lord St. Leonards (Sugden) Lord Chancellor, and Lord Lonsdale President of the Council. Before the dissolution in July the ministry carried a Militia Bill, which was supported by Palmerston in the Lower House. By this useful bill the force, which was to be mainly recruited by voluntary enlistment, was reorganized, and rendered capable of acting in any part of Great Britain and Ireland. New Zealand was granted a Constitution, and a useful session came to an end on July 1. Parliament was then dissolved, and after the elections reassembled in November.

On November 18 the funeral took place of the Duke of Wellington, whose last speech had been in favour of the Militia Bill, and who Fall of the ministry, Dec. 1852. had died on September 14. The question of a policy of free trade was raised on

November 23 by Mr. Villiers, and after a debate the resolution proposed was, with some modifications, accepted by the Government. On December 3 the Budget was introduced by Disraeli, who made a number of financial proposals which were severely criticized by Mr. Gladstone. When the division took place the Government were in a minority of 19, and on December 14 the Derby ministry came to an end.

Before the resignation of the ministry took place, Louis Napoleon, on December 1, had been proclaimed Emperor as Napoleon III.

CHAPTER V

THE CRIMEAN WAR

On December 27, 1852, Lord Aberdeen's ministry was formed, and it remained in office till February, 1855. The Cabinet was composed pretty equally of Whigs and

Lord Aberdeen's
ministry, Dec.
1852-Feb. 1855.

Peelites, and Great Britain was consequently governed by a coalition ministry. Aberdeen was himself a Peelite, while Lord Lansdowne, who was a member of the ministry without an office, was a leading Whig. Palmerston was Home Secretary and Russell Foreign Secretary, Grenville President of the Council, Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sidney Herbert Secretary of War, Sir James Graham First Lord of the Admiralty; the other posts being filled by the Duke of Argyll, Lord Cranworth, the Duke of Newcastle, Sir Charles

Wood, Mr. Cardwell, and Sir William Molesworth. Mr. Disraeli, who was the leading Tory statesman in the House of Commons, described the ministry as "a ministry of progress without principles and without party". It certainly aimed at being a ministry of progress. It at once attempted, without success, to abolish the disabilities of the Jews, and it took into consideration the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland. After the Easter Recess Mr. Gladstone added to his reputation by the speech with which he introduced the Budget.

In Burma and in South Africa the Government carried through successfully two little wars. In South Africa the Kaffirs had risen, and after a period of semi-failure the British arms proved successful, and peace was established, the northern and eastern boundaries of British Kaffraria being respectively the Rivers Orange and Kei. The Government had thus made a successful beginning, and tranquillity at home and peace abroad seemed assured. But "England does not love coalitions", and before long the Government lost all its early popularity. Already grave questions relating to the relations of Great Britain with Russia and Turkey had arisen, which were to eventuate in the famous Crimean War.

The origin of that war was to be found in a dispute between the Greek and Latin monks in Palestine in regard to their rights in connection with certain "holy places", and the main point in dispute was the claim of the Latins "to have a key of the great door of the Church of Bethlehem, the key of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and to

Early success
and popularity.

Origin of the Crimean
War. The Greek
and Latin Churches.

the Star which hung over Bethlehem, instead of being put off with a key of the lesser door".¹ Originally the Latin Church had the custody of the holy places, but gradually the Greek Church, to which many of the subjects of the Turkish Sultan and all the Russians belonged, had obtained rights and privileges. Consequently many disputes had arisen, and in 1851 these disputes assumed an unusual importance, from the fact that Napoleon, in order to strengthen his position among the French clergy, took up the cause of the Latin Church in Jerusalem. The Tsar at once took up the cause of the Greek Church, and the Sultan—who like his predecessors had hitherto acted as arbiter and had preserved order—found himself threatened by the rulers of both France and Russia. Napoleon's demand that the control of the Latin Church over the "key" should be recognized, and that a silver star bearing the arms of France should be allowed place in the sanctuary, was in December, 1852, complied with. The result of this success on the part of the Latin Church was that the Tsar determined to get from the Sultan a settlement satisfactory to him, and Prince Mentchikoff was sent to Constantinople in March, 1853, to demand that the Tsar should be formally recognized as the legal protector of the Greek Christian subjects of the Sultan. Though friendly relations still subsisted between the British and Russian Governments, Napoleon took alarm, and in March sent the French fleet to the bay of Salamis. The British ministry, too, began to realize the importance of the crisis, and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, our representative in Constantinople, who had been on a visit to England, returned

¹ Kinglake: *Invasion of the Crimea*, Vol. I, Chapter III.

to his post in April with increased powers. The presence at Constantinople of Lord Stratford, regarded as "the avowed enemy of Russia", implied that Great Britain intended to support the independence of Turkey. The firm attitude of Great Britain came somewhat as a surprise to the Tsar. He was convinced that the break-up of Turkey was inevitable, he was confident from his conversations with Peel, Wellington, and Aberdeen, in 1844, when he was in England, that in any question regarding a protectorate over the Christian subjects of Turkey, and in any quarrel with Turkey over the holy places, he would be supported by Great Britain.

In January, 1853, Nicholas had had some celebrated conversations with Sir Hamilton Seymour, British Ambassador in St. Petersburg, in which he alluded to Turkey as a sick man. It was, he thought, desirable that, at the coming dissolution of Turkey, Britain and Russia should agree upon the division of the Ottoman Empire, and he even suggested that Britain should take Egypt, Cyprus, and Crete, and allow Russia to carry out her schemes in the Balkan Peninsula. The British Government, in the person of Lord John Russell, the Foreign Secretary in Aberdeen's ministry, which had come into office on December 27, 1852, refused to come to any formal agreement, and insisted that Turkey was not on the verge of dissolution. When Lord Stratford de Redcliffe arrived at his post in Constantinople a diplomatic duel ensued, in which Mentchikoff was worsted. In May, 1853, Great Britain and France were supporting the weak Turkish Empire, and on May 21 Mentchikoff with his suite

The Tsar's proposals.
Measures of Russia,
Britain, and France.

left Constantinople, his efforts to secure the subservience of Turkey having, owing to the opposition of Lord Stratford, proved a failure. Events now moved rapidly. On June 14 the British and French fleets, under Admirals Dundas and Hamelin, anchored in Besika Bay. On July 2 a Russian army under Michael Gorchakov crossed the Pruth, and occupied the Danubian Principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, thus encroaching on Turkish territory.

A dangerous situation had now been created, and war was within sight. On the question of war the British Cabinet was not united, and while the party headed by Palmerston had secured the dispatch of the fleet to Besika Bay, the peace party, headed by Aberdeen, had welcomed the assembling of a congress at Vienna as a step in favour of the preservation of peace. On July 21 the "Vienna Note", embodying proposals for an arrangement, was sent to Russia and Turkey. The Porte introduced some necessary safeguards into the Note, which was in its altered form rejected by the Tsar, who already was furious at the movements of the British and French fleets, which in October entered the Dardanelles. On October 23 Turkey declared war upon Russia, having in vain demanded the evacuation of the Principalities. The destruction of the Turkish fleet on November 30, at Sinope, by a superior Russian force, caused great indignation in Britain, and more than any other event rendered war inevitable, though in Britain the event was somewhat misunderstood.

The crisis in foreign policy was accompanied by a crisis in the Cabinet. The views of several of the Peelites, such as Aberdeen and Graham, on the

question of reform of Parliament differed from those held by Palmerston and Lansdowne, who, moreover, considered that, in the critical condition of foreign affairs, the introduction of a Reform Bill was inopportune. Palmerston's objections to the Bill itself, and their non-acceptance by the Cabinet, resulted, on December 6, in his resigning office, and he remained out of the Cabinet for ten days. He returned to office, however, on December 27, and at once infused vigour into the foreign policy of the Government. On January 4, 1854, the British and French fleets, in consequence of a decision arrived at during Palmerston's absence from office, entered the Black Sea, and Great Britain, in spite of the continued hopes expressed by Aberdeen for the preservation of peace, rapidly drifted into war. Palmerston's views were endorsed by public opinion in Great Britain; the successes obtained by the Turks early in 1854 roused enthusiasm. On March 12 Great Britain and France signed a Treaty of Alliance with Turkey, and on March 27 declared war upon Russia, which had refused to evacuate the Danubian Principalities.

Crisis in the
Cabinet, Dec. 1853.
Alliance with Tur-
key and France.

So far the Turks had won several successes, and it was thought that the active co-operation of the French and British would speedily bring about a satisfactory arrangement with Russia. While Sir Charles Napier was sent with a fleet into the Baltic, large numbers of British and French troops were sent to the East. The British army was placed under Lord Raglan, the French army under Marshal St. Arnaud. The attitude of Austria and Prussia was throughout this anxious period more favourable to Turkey than

Russia withdraws
her troops, but
war ensues.

to Russia. They formed an alliance, demanded the evacuation of the Danubian principalities by Russia, and the latter saw that it was prudent to comply. The Russian troops were withdrawn, those of Austria took their place, and in August Austria restored the principalities to their former ruler in agreement with the Sultan. Thus by August the immediate objects of the war had been attained, the Black Sea was dominated by the British and French fleets, and Russia had raised the siege of Silistria, and had withdrawn to the north bank of the Pruth, which was repassed on the 2nd of August. But in both Britain and France the necessity of inflicting a decided check upon Russia was recognized, and it was felt that the opportunity of curbing the ambitions of the Tsar should not be lost. The war was certainly a "vindication of the public law of Europe". In the arrogant attitude of Russia since 1815, "in the ever-increasing insolence of that attitude since the accession of the Emperor Nicholas", and in its "action against liberty, not only in Poland or Hungary, but all over Europe",¹ lies the explanation and justification of the Crimean War.

On June 15, 1854, Palmerston, in a famous memorandum to the Cabinet, had advised that the destruction of Sebastopol and of the Russian Black Sea fleet should be at once undertaken, and that Turkey should be consequently placed in a position secure from the attacks of Russia. Palmerston's advice was adopted, and on June 29 the invasion of the Crimea was ordered. It was not, however, till September 14 that the allied armies landed in the Crimea, to find

Landing in
Crimea. Battle
of the Alma.

¹ Fitzmaurice: *Life of Lord Granville*, Vol. I, p. 98.

that the Russians had assembled a large force for the defence of Sebastopol. On September 20 the battle of the Alma was fought, and after a severe struggle ended in a complete victory for the Allies. The French loss in killed and wounded was about 500, that of the British about 2000. Lord Raglan's wish to advance upon Sebastopol without delay was unfortunately opposed by St. Arnaud, and accordingly the victory was not followed up. Had Lord Raglan's advice been taken, Sebastopol would have fallen, and the campaign would have been only one of weeks.

Sebastopol, the capture of which was the chief object of the expedition, is a seaport in the south-west of the Crimea, approached from the open sea by a long inlet constituting its harbour. The allied fleets and armies could therefore advance while in close communication. On September 24 and 26 the British generals were anxious to attack Sebastopol, but were again overruled by the French leader, who was now Canrobert, St. Arnaud being in a dying condition (he died on September 29). The siege of Sebastopol was then determined on, and, owing to the skill and energy of the Russian military engineer, Todleben, that siege became famous in modern history. This decision, due in the first instance to the unfortunate refusal of the French generals to countenance any assault, led to most momentous consequences. "It in fact changed what was intended to be a rapid *coup de main* into a regular siege",¹ and, moreover, what was a most serious matter, as the British military administration had made no preparations for a siege, the army experienced terrible sufferings during the

¹ Bright: *History of England*, Vol. IV, p. 253.

winter of 1854-5. The Russians at once blocked the harbour, and re-enforcements poured in to such an extent that the French and British were sorely outnumbered.

Six miles from the trenches lay the small harbour of Balaclava, occupied by the British, and, as the British communications between it and Sebastopol were weak, the Russians, on October 25, made an assault on these communications. The battle of Balaclava, which was the result, was one of the most famous battles in the war. A success on the part of the Russians, under General Liprandi, over the Turkish contingent was checked by a splendid charge of the "heavy brigade" of cavalry under General Scarlett, who drove back a great body of Russian horse; but the most remarkable incident of the day was a charge of the "light brigade", consisting of 670 sabres, under Lord Cardigan, upon a Russian battery placed in the centre of the Russian army. This cavalry charge was due to an order from Lord Raglan being misunderstood, but the battery was seized and the men forced their way back, the brigade being reduced to a third of its strength. The Russians were so astonished at the audacity of the charge that, had a general attack of the British infantry taken place, Lord Raglan would have won a signal victory. As it was, no further movement of importance took place, and the Russians were encouraged to make a fresh attack upon the British right flank.

This attack took place on November 5, and resulted in the battle of Inkermann, "the soldiers' battle", so called because the British soldiers, being

Battle of Balaclava,
Oct. 25, 1854.

surprised, during a thick fog, in their tents, turned out, and by their reckless courage defeated and drove back the enemy. Late in the day 6000 French re-enforcements came to the aid of the 8000 British soldiers who were struggling against some 40,000 Russians. This memorable victory established the superiority of the British troops, and the victory of Inkermann remains one of the most noteworthy battles in the Crimean War. After the battle, in which the British lost 2300 men, Lord Raglan came to the unfortunate decision that it was impossible to lead the weary troops against Sebastopol, and consequently the siege dragged on for another ten months.

During the winter of 1854-5 the troops, both British and French, endured severe privations, owing to the intense cold and the lack of warm clothing, and to the failure of the commissariat arrangements. The food supplies ran short, the tents were inadequate protection against the cold, and the loss of some ships which were bringing warm clothing for the troops proved most serious. In January, 1855, over 13,000 men were in hospital. The sufferings of our soldiers were due, in the first place, to the anticipation on the part of the Government that the war would be over before the winter. When, however, it was recognized that the war would continue throughout the winter, the want of experience of the authorities led to many blunders in the military arrangements. At first the sick and wounded, who had been taken to Scutari, near Constantinople, were inadequately cared for; but Miss Florence Nightingale, with a number of devoted nurses, brought about a com-

plete change in the arrangements, with the result that many valuable lives were saved.

Meanwhile indignation against the Government, which was held to be answerable for the delays and mishaps in the Crimea, had been rapidly rising, while the criticism directed against Lord Raglan and his

Growing
hostility to
the Government.

leading officers was very outspoken. But the charges brought against Lord Raglan and the officers were practically groundless. Throughout a very difficult campaign Lord Raglan had shown energy, devotion, and foresight, and had as a rule been supported by those under him. That grave mismanagement had existed in the commissariat and hospital departments is undoubted, but the cause of this mismanagement was due to the lack of foresight on the part of the Government, and to the antiquated British military administration. The Government had been confident that the expedition to the Crimea would rapidly accomplish its purpose, and return to England before the winter. Consequently it had made no preparations for a winter campaign. The indignation of the country was natural, and when Parliament met in December, 1854, the ministers made an explanation and defence of their policy, and proposed certain measures for the strengthening of the army. When Parliament again met on January 23, after a short adjournment, public feeling had become more hostile to the Government, and next day Lord John Russell resigned his office. A large majority in the Commons now accepted Mr. Roebuck's proposal for the appointment of a committee to enquire into the conduct and management of the war, and Mr. Roebuck's

victory was followed by the fall of the Aberdeen ministry on January 29, 1855.

The fall of the coalition ministry, amid a storm of indignation, was in the first place due to the inclusion in the Government of two parties who did not agree on any important question. As regards the conduct of the war the lack of unanimity was serious. Lord Aberdeen and his immediate followers had persisted in ignoring the probable duration of the war, and so the expedition was totally unprepared for the winter campaign.

On the fall of the Aberdeen ministry a period of confusion ensued. The Queen requested Lord Derby to form a Government. That statesman agreed to do so, provided Palmerston and some members of the Peelite party joined him. After a few hours' consideration Palmerston declined to join Lord Derby, who thereupon informed the Queen of his inability to form a ministry. This decision has been criticized on the ground that Lord Derby, by taking office during a grave national crisis, would have received the support of the nation, especially as the coalition had proved a disastrous failure. In 1855 Lord Derby would probably have secured a large majority at the elections. His decision not to form a Government has been described as "the great mistake of his life".¹

On Lord Derby's refusal to form a ministry, the Queen sent for Lord Lansdowne, and then for Lord John Russell, who attempted to form a purely Whig administration. The

The fall of Aberdeen's ministry, Jan., 1855.

Lord Derby refuses to form a ministry.

The Palmerston ministry, 1855.

¹ Kebbel: *Life of Lord Derby*, p. 116.

failure of Russell's efforts was followed by the accession to office of Lord Palmerston, who was marked out by public opinion as the necessary Premier. In Palmerston's ministry Lord Granville was President of the Council, Lord Clarendon Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lord Panmure Secretary for War, other offices being filled by Mr. Gladstone, the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and Sir James Graham. Lord John Russell was not a member of the Government, but accepted a mission as the British plenipotentiary at a conference which met at Vienna. The alliance between the Whigs and the Peelites only lasted two weeks, for, on the appointment of Mr. Roebuck's Committee, the Peelite members of the Government, Graham, Gladstone, and Sidney Herbert, resigned, their places being taken by Russell, Vernon Smith, and Cornwall Lewis, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer. After a few months the Committee issued a mild report, merely calling attention to the lack of sufficient care or forethought in the conduct of the Crimean expedition. Meanwhile great efforts were being made in the Crimea to bring the war to a conclusion. On March 2, 1855, the Tsar Nicholas died, and was succeeded by his son Alexander II, who, soon after his accession, agreed to consider proposals drawn up at a conference of the Great Powers, which met on March 15, and sat till April 21. The proposed arrangements were unacceptable to the Tsar, and the war, therefore, was prosecuted with vigour.

In January, 1855, the Allies had been re-enforced by the arrival of 15,000 Italian soldiers, The capture of Sebastopol.
the subjects of Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, sent to the theatre of war at the in-

stigation of Cavour, the Sardinian minister, who was desirous of placing his country in the first rank of European powers. In May the vigorous Pelissier took the place of the somewhat irresolute Canrobert at the head of the French troops. At first, however, the Russians seemed likely to hold their own, for on June 18 a combined assault by the allied forces against Sebastopol failed. On June 28 Lord Raglan, who had "a calm and stoic greatness of character", died of cholera, and was succeeded by General Simpson. Early in September Sebastopol, which had been carefully fortified by Todleben, and which was defended with great courage, was again attacked, and on September 11 its ruins were in the possession of the Allies.

In other quarters success and failure were fairly equally balanced. The Greeks who had risen had failed to hold their own against the Turks, while Kars in Asia Minor, which had for many months made a brilliant defence against the Russian attacks, under the able leadership of Fenwick Williams, the British Commissioner with the Turkish army, was on November 28, 1855, owing to cholera and famine, compelled to surrender. Peace was now within sight, and negotiations were definitely opened in December. Already, in November, 1855, it had seemed likely that France and Austria would unite in coming to terms with Russia, and that Great Britain would be isolated. Palmerston's strength of character now asserted itself, and his declaration that, if necessary, Great Britain would continue the war alone, led to the drawing up of terms of peace at Paris by the British and Austrian ambassadors.

In February, 1856, a Conference was opened at

Paris, Great Britain being represented by Lord Clarendon, and the Treaty of Paris was signed on March 30. Both Russia and Turkey restored the territories occupied during the war, the Black Sea was neutralized, and the Dardanelles were closed to warships, the navigation of the Danube was placed under an international commission, the Russian frontier was so arranged as to keep Russia from the mouth of the river, while Moldavia, Wallachia (the Danubian Principalities), and Servia were given independent administration—though under the nominal suzerainty of Turkey.

Napoleon III, who always posed as the advocate of the principle of nationality, had during the negotiations proposed the union of Moldavia and Wallachia under a prince chosen by the inhabitants. The proposal, though approved by Russia, was opposed by Great Britain and Austria. The two provinces, however, elected the same Hospodar or ruler—Prince Alexander Couza—and in 1862 the union of Moldavia and Wallachia was quietly effected, the united provinces being henceforward known as Roumania.

The results of the Crimean War were of immense importance. The foundations of the kingdom of Roumania were laid, while Turkey was given a fresh lease of life, and, in spite of the many subsequent prognostications of her final disappearance from among the list of European nations, has not only continued to exist, but at the present time seems to have entered upon a new period in her history. In 1856 Austria, Great Britain, and France guaranteed the integrity

of Turkey. At the same time Europe insisted on securing religious toleration for the Christian subjects of the Porte. Further, by arrangement made before the Conference separated, Great Britain accepted the doctrine that free ships make free goods, thus retiring from that position which had led to the formation in 1780 and in 1800 of the hostile coalitions known as The Armed Neutrality.

CHAPTER VI

THE INDIAN MUTINY AND AFTER, 1857-58

Lord Dalhousie was Governor-General of India from 1848 to 1856. His work has been summed up as Conquest, Consolidation, Development. In 1849 the Punjab had been annexed, disarmed, consolidated, and efficiently administered. Between that date and 1856 Dalhousie carried out splendidly the doctrine of "lapse", that is, he annexed vassal states whenever the ruling houses died out. He thus acted contrary to the prevailing customs among the Hindoos, in accordance with which a family was perpetuated by a system of adoption, when the natural heirs failed. In this way he annexed the Mahratta States of Satara in 1849, Nagpore in 1853, and Jhansi in 1854. Moreover, on the death of the already dethroned Peishwa, Dalhousie refused to recognize the Nana Sahib, his adopted son, as his political heir. Before he left India Dalhousie crowned his work by dethroning the King of Oudh

Lord Dalhousie's
Indian adminis-
tration, 1848-56.

and annexing his populous State. The misgovernment of the King rendered this act justifiable, but it created feelings of alarm, distrust, and resentment throughout a great part of India, and especially among the natives of Oudh.

When Dalhousie returned to England in 1856 British India had become a wide-extended State, and more homogeneous than before.

By its expansion it touched other ^{India in 1853.} Asiatic powers, and might be described as a great continental empire. A progressive policy with regard to trade and public works had also been carried out by Dalhousie, who thus left to his successor the difficult task of consolidating a series of changes, territorial and financial, which had naturally tended to unsettle the credulous and conservative-minded natives of India.

Changes in the whole character of the government of India and of its army were now inevitable. After the annexation of Oudh the Company had done its work. The Indian Empire was ^{Changes impending.} now formed with boundaries reaching "approximately to those of the Great Empires of Russia and China, and could only be represented by the Crown". Moreover, the old Sepoy army—"the emblem of Brahmin supremacy"—had become a possible source of great danger, and required to be completely reorganized. It was the failure to recognize that the widespread feeling of discontent, which had been considerably aggravated under Dalhousie's rule, might find an exponent in the native army that well-nigh brought our rule in India to an end. And yet it is incorrect to speak of an Indian Mutiny. What took place was a military revolt mainly confined to

Oudh and the North-West Provinces, with a part of Bengal, and supported by the landowners of those provinces as well as by all the criminals in them. The causes of the revolt were partly social, partly military.

Of the former, the general unrest, the grievances of the upper classes, and the discontent among the lower orders in Oudh were the most important. While the annexation of Oudh was necessary and inevitable it was carried out in the most unfortunate manner. The native Collectors or *Talukdars* in Oudh, a wealthy and influential class, were deprived of much of their property, and consequently alienated. The abolition of the Court in Oudh, too, was unpopular, and, all classes being bitterly opposed to the changes, the Bengal Sepoys (three-fifths of whom came from Oudh) were naturally infected with the spirit of discontent. The military causes of discontent were equally important. It is said that our disasters in the Afghan wars and the struggle in the Crimea had injured our reputation in the eyes of the population of India, and given an opportunity to agitators to tamper with the loyalty of the army. That army in 1857 numbered nearly 300,000 men. In fact, our rule in India at that time depended entirely upon the fidelity of that army, which naturally resented the tendency to Europeanize it, and to introduce large numbers of British officers—many of whom had little interest in the troops which they commanded, and were always anxious to return to Britain as soon as possible.

The tie between the officers and their troops consequently had in 1857 become much less close than in the earlier years of the century, and as a result

the disaffection in their regiments was unknown to many of those who held command. Owing, too, to the Crimean War, the garrisons in ^{Sepoys.} India had been much depleted, and after that war had not been re-enforced. For some time, moreover, the army had been idle, and in a condition to listen to the suggestions of agitators. Mutinies had already occurred during the century. In 1806 and in 1843 Sepoy troops, alarmed for their religion, had mutinied; and when Dalhousie's administration, brilliant as no doubt it was, tended to inflame the social and political feelings of the inhabitants of India, it was but natural that the Sepoys should become alarmed at the rapid changes which were taking place. In 1857, then, the native army was in a position to be the exponent of the widespread feeling of uneasiness and discontent. The discontent being especially prevalent in Oudh, the incident of the greased cartridges (about to be mentioned) may be said to have been merely the occasion and not the cause of the so-called mutiny.

Lord Dalhousie had been in 1857 succeeded as Governor-General by Lord Canning, a son of George Canning, the famous Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister. Soon ^{Lord Canning's Policy.} after his arrival in India he had carried a law providing in the future for general enlistment, which meant that the Sepoys could be employed in Burma or in other places across the sea. This in itself was regarded by the Sepoys with horror, and while much excitement was prevalent in consequence of this enactment, there came the introduction of the new Enfield rifle into the Indian army. It was at once asserted that the grease used in the employ-

ment of the new cartridges was the grease of pigs and cattle. Now, since the Hindoos regarded the cow as a sacred animal, and the Mohammedans considered themselves polluted if they had any personal contact with swine, a feeling of angry panic at once prevailed in the native army, affecting the adherents of both religions alike.

On February 25, 1857, a mutiny took place among the troops at Berampore, near Moorshedabad, in Bengal, and on May 10 a more serious Outbreak of the Mutiny, Feb. 1857. revolt among the Sepoys broke out at Meerut, near Delhi, which was followed by the mutiny of nearly the whole Bengal army. The mutineers of Meerut occupied Delhi, and, being joined by both Hindoos and Mussulmans, restored the old Emperor—the descendant of the Great Moguls who formerly ruled India. Henceforth Delhi became the centre of the rebellion in the north, which was mainly military and was dependent upon the Bengal army. Here, as elsewhere, men and women of British race were massacred.

Farther south in Oudh the whole population rose, and its capital, Lucknow, held by a number of British, was closely besieged. In the North-West Provinces, Benares, Allahabad, Agra, and Cawnpore, with the old capital of Delhi, are the best-known stations and towns which were seized or attacked by the mutineers. But though the chief attention was devoted to Delhi, Lucknow, and Cawnpore, the position in Central India and Gwalior was also most critical for a time. In Bombay Lord Elphinstone prevented any serious outbreak, and with Lord Harris, the Governor of Madras, was able to concert measures for the relief of the Central Provinces.

Fortunately the newly annexed Punjab had been wisely governed by Sir Henry, and later by his brother, Sir John (Lord) Lawrence, The Lawrences in the Punjab. and remained loyal, while at Peshawur, under John Lawrence, were Herbert Edwardes and John Nicholson, both men of ability and experience. It was recognized that the capture of Delhi must be effected without delay, while if possible simultaneous attempts should be made by other forces to effect the relief of Agra, Cawnpore, Lucknow, and Allahabad. Under Nicholson some 4000 or 5000 men formed a movable column which did excellent work in suppressing mutinous movements. The Sikhs stood firm on the British side, and, Sikh regiments being formed, the North-West Provinces soon ceased to be a source of danger.

Meanwhile, in spite of some disasters, the British had been successful elsewhere. The forces in India had been strengthened by troops on the way to China, who had been diverted to Allahabad, Cawnpore, Lucknow. India by Lord Elgin, by troops from Persia under General Havelock, and by troops from Madras and Burma; and from Calcutta an army advanced to the relief of Allahabad, Cawnpore; and Lucknow. Allahabad was relieved on June 11, but before the troops could arrive at Cawnpore the garrison had been massacred on June 27, and on July 15 Nana Sahib murdered all the women and children who remained in his hands. Havelock, who had won several victories on his way, on July 16 overthrew the enemy at Cawnpore, and on July 17 occupied the city. Without any delay he at once advanced with only about 1500 men to the relief of Lucknow, but was forced to retire.

The situation in Oudh, where Sir Henry Lawrence was in chief command, was now most serious. The native troops under Sir Henry, who had fixed himself at Lucknow, had mutinied, and these insurgents were re-enforced by the mutineers from Cawnpore. In the Residency at Lucknow some 927 Europeans under Sir Henry were besieged, but defended themselves with the utmost tenacity and courage. Sir Henry Lawrence, however, was killed, and Colonel Inglis took his place. On September 25 General Havelock arrived, having fought his way through masses of his opponents, and, forcing an entrance into Lucknow, reinforced the garrison; but the place was immediately invested by fresh swarms of rebels.

Meanwhile the chief attention was concentrated upon the siege of Delhi. While Nicholson was establishing order in the provinces near the Punjab, Anson, the commander-in-chief, was collecting a force to go to the relief of Delhi. Anson died on May 27, but under his successor, Henry Barnard, the siege of Delhi was begun on June 10, 1857. No success at first attended the operations of our troops. Assaults failed, and Archdale Wilson, who on Barnard's death had succeeded to the command, thought of retiring. At this crisis Sir John Lawrence at Peshawur determined to trust the Punjab to the Sikh troops and to send Nicholson with his movable column to Delhi. Nicholson's arrival at Delhi was followed by a great assault on September 14. Nicholson was himself killed, but a hold on a part of the city had been effected, and on September 19 Delhi was in the hands of the British. Bahadur Shah, the old Mogul, was caught, and afterwards

banished to Burma; but his two sons and grandson were shot by Major Hodson, a cavalry officer of great bravery, who feared that they might be rescued by the mob.

The rebellion, however, was not yet crushed. Lucknow was still invested by the rebels, of whom some 60,000 remained in the field. It was not till November 17 that Lord ^{Arrival of} Lord Clyde. Clyde (Sir Colin Campbell), the new commander-in-chief, arrived at Lucknow and rescued the garrison from their dangerous position, the death of Havelock being the chief disaster suffered by the British. Lucknow had thus been relieved for a second time, but the commander saw that it could not yet be held. He then returned to Cawnpore and won a victory over the enemy on December 6. Lucknow was thus abandoned for a time to the enemy, who made use of the interval to strengthen their fortifications; but in March, 1858, Lord Clyde again attacked the place and recovered it after hard fighting. At Bareilly, on May 7, he finally crushed the rebels.

The Bombay column was under Sir Hugh Rose, and began its march in January, 1858; the Madras column was under Whitelock. No-
Sir Hugh Rose and the Bombay column, 1858.
thing could exceed the brilliant successes of Rose in face of overwhelming numbers. His chief opponents were Tantia Topi, the nephew of Nana Sahib, and the Ranee of Jhansi. With 1500 men Rose overcame immense difficulties, defeated an enormous force under Tantia Topi, and on April 5 took Jhansi, and shortly afterwards Calpee, a fortress in which the Ranee had taken refuge. She then occupied Gwalior, but on June 19, 1858, was killed in battle with an

British force from the south under Brigadier Smith. Rose then occupied Gwalior on June 19, 1858. All danger of a successfully organized rising in Central India was over. In April, 1859, Tantia Topi, after hopeless endeavours to rouse fresh insurrections, was captured and executed.

It was obvious to the British nation that the administration of India must be changed. Parliament met in February, 1858, before the mutiny had been finally suppressed, and Palmerston, on February 12, introduced an India Bill. By this Bill the East India Company was abolished and the whole administration taken over by the Government. A trading company which had gradually acquired governing power over an immense territory, the East India Company had seen its political powers continually diminished. In 1858 "the Company remained only as a piece of effete and cumbersome machinery serving no end except to hamper the administration".¹

Before, however, the Bill could be carried Palmerston had resigned, on February 19. His resignation was caused, curiously enough, by an attempt made upon the life of the Emperor Napoleon by an Italian exile named Orsini. Napoleon had already become involved in schemes for the expulsion of the Austrians from Northern Italy. But he had taken no action as yet; and Orsini, disappointed at the prospect of a long period of delay, tried to murder him on January 14, 1858, by throwing a bomb into his carriage in Paris. Orsini had resided in London, where he had formed his plot, and consequently the French were furious

Abolition of
the East India
Company, 1858.

The Orsini
bombs, 1858.

¹ Bright: *History of England*, Vol. IV, p. 329.

at their allies, the British, for allowing such plots to be hatched in their midst. Walewski, the French Foreign Minister, wrote a very violently worded dispatch to the British Government, and several officers in the French army acted in a very injudicious manner, and used very threatening language about Britain. Consequently popular irritation against France was roused, Palmerston's proposal to amend the Conspiracy Laws was resented as truckling to the French, and an amendment was carried against the Government by nineteen votes.

Palmerston's administration was in many respects noteworthy. It had seen the end of the Crimean War and the virtual suppression

of the Indian Mutiny. Moreover, during his tenure of office Pal-

Review of Palmerston's administration.
Persian War.

merston engaged in a justifiable and successful war with the Shah of Persia, who, taking advantage of the struggle in the Crimea, had invaded Afghanistan and occupied Herat. In December, 1856, a British force landed in Persia, captured the seaport Bushire, defeated the Persian army at Kooshab, and soon forced the Shah to come to terms. In March, 1857, he evacuated Herat, and the British troops were enabled to re-enforce the army in India which was struggling to suppress the Mutiny.

In 1856-7 we also became involved in a war with China over the seizure, in October, 1856, of the *Arrow*, a trading vessel "Chinese built, Chinese owned, Chinese manned", but sailing under the British flag. A quarrel ensued, which developed into a war. In 1857 Lord Elgin was sent out, as the hostilities had developed into a

Chinese War,
1856-7.

war over the failure of the Chinese to execute the terms of the Treaty of Nanking signed in 1842. The reinforcements from Britain, by the wisdom of Lord Elgin, were sent for a time to Calcutta to aid in the suppression of the Mutiny, and it was not till October, 1857, that Lord Elgin opened negotiations which resulted in peace with China in June, 1858.

The events in China naturally gave an opportunity for much criticism by the opponents of the Government. The Persian and China Wars, occurring, as they had, simultaneously with the Indian Mutiny, had, however, occupied all the public attention. Consequently, in March, 1857, Palmerston dissolved Parliament, and appealed to the country for a renewal of its confidence in him. The elections fully justified his expectations, as his party was successful, while many of his critics, such as John Bright, Milner Gibson, and Cobden lost their seats.

Thus when Palmerston fell, in 1858, India was about to enter upon a new period in her history, and

Great Britain was to find herself not only strengthened but involved in a new responsibility which was to engage her best administrative talent. Palmerston's fall, too, coincided with the beginning of a fresh development in the European States system, the establishment of a United Italy. He, however, was again in office before the union of Italy had actually taken place.

The election
of 1857.

Political
situation
in 1858.

CHAPTER VII

THE TRIUMPH OF PALMERSTON, 1858-65

On February 28, 1858, Lord Derby's second ministry was formed. It included Lord Chelmsford, Lord Chancellor; Lord Salisbury, President of the Council; Mr. S. H. Walpole, Lord Stanley, Lord Malmesbury, as Home, Colonial, and Foreign Secretaries; and Mr. Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Though faced by a hostile majority, the ministry remained in power till June, 1859, and carried through several very difficult matters.

Derby's second
administration,
Feb. 1858-June 1859.

Of these the most pressing concerned Walewski's dispatch, to which the late ministry had not replied, the settlement of the future government of India, and certain difficulties with the Neapolitan and American Governments. Mr. Disraeli led the Conservatives in the House of Commons, and Lord Malmesbury, as Foreign Secretary, had many difficult matters to deal with in the Lords. The French Government, through Count Walewski, sent a conciliatory dispatch, and the alliance between Great Britain and France continued unbroken.

Important
questions.

The question of the government of India was not so easily settled. An India Bill, which was produced on the lines of the one drawn up by Palmerston, was found, after the Easter recess, to meet with general disapproval. It was, however, agreed that the matter was not one which should be regarded as a party question, and it was resolved, on Lord John Russell's proposal, "to proceed by way of resolution", *i.e.* that the bill should

The India
Bill, 1858.

be the "joint production of all parties". On August 3 the India Bill was passed. Henceforward a special Secretary of State for India was to administer the affairs of India in the Queen's name, and he was to be assisted by a council of fifteen. The appointments in the India Civil Service were to be thrown open to competition, and by clause 55 it was enacted that only under certain specified circumstances were Indian troops to be employed outside India. Before the Bill had been introduced there was much excitement over Lord Canning's proclamation of March 3, declaring the forfeiture of all Oudh (with certain exceptions) to the Crown. When, however, the exact intentions of Lord Canning were known, the excitement subsided.

The difficulty with the Neapolitan Government arose from the arrest and imprisonment, in 1857, of two English engineers on board the *Cagliari*, a Sardinian mail steamer, by a Neapolitan man-of-war. The dispute with the United States arose out of the right of search exercised by British cruisers when engaged in the suppression of the slave trade. The firm and conciliatory attitude of Lord Derby and Lord Malmesbury, however, led to a satisfactory adjustment of both these difficulties.

Another question which was satisfactorily settled related to the admission of Jews to Parliament, and Lord Derby agreed to a satisfactory compromise, following the example set by Peel with regard to Roman Catholic disabilities. Either House could henceforth modify the form of oath demanded, on the admission of Jews to Parliament, by resolution. The addition

Naples and the
United States.

Admission of
Jews into
Parliament, 1858.

of the colony of British Columbia to the Empire, a Scottish University Bill, and the abolition of the property qualification for members of the House of Commons were the chief remaining events of the session of 1858.

The political horizon was, however, far from clear. On July 15, 1858, the Emperor Napoleon and the Sardinian premier Cavour had their famous secret interview at Plombières. Napoleon ^{The Italian War of 1859.} pledged himself to expel the Austrians from Italy, and to aid in setting up four kingdoms in Italy. For France he demanded Savoy and Nice, and agreed to the marriage of Prince Napoleon (cousin of Napoleon III) to the Princess Clothilde, daughter of the King of Sardinia. Cavour's principal object in this interview was to get the support of Napoleon to the formation of a kingdom of Northern Italy, and in December, 1858, a kind of treaty was drawn up in which Napoleon, who was promised Savoy and Nice, undertook to aid the Sardinian monarchy in case of an Austrian attack.

In February, 1859, a Reform Bill was introduced by Disraeli, but was unfavourably received. By this measure it was proposed to equalize the town and county franchise, both being ^{Disraeli's Reform Bill, 1859.} fixed at £10, and to give what were called "fancy franchises", that is, votes to persons of education and holders of property, even if they were not householders. The forty-shilling freeholder who lived in a borough was henceforth only to vote in the borough, and not in the county as well. The Bill was opposed by the Whigs and Radicals, and Russell's adverse amendment was carried on April 1 by a majority of thirty.

On April 23 Parliament was dissolved, and in the new House of Commons, which assembled in May, the Conservatives were in a slight minority. On a vote of want of confidence, proposed by Lord Hartington, the ministry was defeated by a majority of thirteen. The fall of the ministry was in great measure due to a report, widely circulated by the Opposition, that it sympathized with the Austrian Court and was opposed to Italian aspirations. The publication of an Italian Blue Book directly upon the fall of Lord Derby clearly proved that the charge that the Government had encouraged Austria was groundless. Both Lord Derby and Lord Malmesbury made strenuous though unavailing efforts to prevent Austria from going to war. The failure of these efforts was due to the determination of Napoleon and Cavour not to consent to a peaceful solution of the difficulty. Had Cobden and a dozen or more Members of Parliament seen the report before the division they would have supported the Government. At the same time, however, it is difficult to see how the ministry could have remained long in office in face of a hostile majority.

Meanwhile important events were taking place on the Continent. On April 23, the day of the dissolution of Parliament, the Austrian Government had sent an ultimatum to Sardinia. On April 29 Napoleon, Emperor of the French, declared war upon Austria. Successes rewarded the allied French and Sardinian forces. On May 20 they won the battle of Montebello, and on June 4 the victory of Magenta was followed by the entry of Victor Emmanuel and

Fall of the
Derby ministry,
May, 1859.

War of Austria
against Sardinia
and France, 1859.

Napoleon into Milan, and by revolutions directed against the petty sovereigns who favoured Austria in central and southern Italy and were opposed to Italian Unity. On June 24 the Allies won the battle of Solferino. Europe was now aroused—Prussia began to feel alarmed at the French successes, and throughout Germany the defeat of Austria by France and Sardinia stirred public opinion. Napoleon had not counted upon the establishment of a United Italy, and the mobilization of the Prussian troops on the Rhine added to his anxieties. On July 9, without consulting Victor Emmanuel, he concluded the armistice of Villafranca with the Austrian Emperor, which was confirmed by the Treaty of Zurich in November.

The movement for the Union of Italy went on apace in spite of Napoleon's desertion of the Italians. Lombardy was transferred to Victor Emmanuel as a result of the Treaty of Zurich. After the Peace of Villafranca, 1859. The Central States of Italy, which Napoleon had intended for his cousin, Prince Napoleon, son-in-law of Victor Emmanuel, had now declared for union with the Sardinian monarchy, and the French Emperor raised no objection, on condition that, in accordance with the arrangement made at Plombières, he received Savoy and Nice. These were ceded to him on March 24, 1860. In April Sicily, under Garibaldi, threw off the Bourbon yoke in favour of Victor Emmanuel, and was soon followed by Naples (or Lower Italy); in September the Sardinian troops invaded the Papal States, which, with the exception of the patrimony of St. Peter (Rome and its territory), were easily conquered. In February, 1861, Victor Emmanuel was proclaimed King of Italy.

Though the British Court was in sympathy with Austria during these stirring events, the nation as a whole sympathized with the Italians. Feeling in Britain. Lord Derby's Government had made consistent efforts on behalf of the maintenance of peace; but Lord Malmesbury's diplomacy was hampered by his ignorance of the compact of Plombières, and the only solution of the difficulties seemed to him to be a general disarmament.

Lord Palmerston's second ministry (1859-65), however, which lasted till his death, was strongly in favour of Italian unity. Palmerston's second ministry, 1859-65. In that ministry Palmerston was First Lord of the Treasury, Granville was President of the Council, Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer, Russell, Newcastle, and Herbert Foreign, Colonial, and War Secretaries, and Milner-Gibson President of the Board of Trade. The Queen, on Derby's resignation, had sent for Lord Granville, whom she and the Prince Consort preferred to either Palmerston or Russell. But Granville was unable to form a ministry, and accordingly Palmerston was sent for, and, owing to the settlement of internal differences among the various sections of the Liberal party, was able to form "a ministry of repose".

Both in the domain of foreign and domestic policy the year 1859 is important. The importance of the year 1859. In domestic affairs there was no serious question of principle to be decided, and political interest was centred on the Continent, where important issues were about to be decided. The year 1859 saw the absorption of the Peelites into the Liberal party and thus constitutes an important epoch in British parliamentary history; it also saw the rise of a new

Italian nation; and it, moreover, soon became evident that the events of 1859 would hasten the outbreak of a struggle for supremacy in Germany, similar to the struggle for supremacy which was taking place in Italy. As these struggles necessitated immense armies, from about this time may be dated the advent of the "day of large armaments".

The members of the new ministry were consistent supporters of the cause of Italian unity, and on January 17, 1860, Lord John Russell, in a famous dispatch, suggested that the States of Central Italy should be allowed to unite with Piedmont if they desired to do so. This dispatch was, according to Cavour, worth a dozen victories in the field, for Austria, fearing to risk a fresh war against France and Great Britain, took no action, and the movement in favour of Italian unity proceeded. Napoleon's acquisition of Nice and Savoy, in April, 1860, was perforce acquiesced in by the British Government, but it roused universal indignation in Britain as well as in Germany.

The ministry and Italian unity, 1860.

Palmerston, who had disliked the terms of the armistice of Villafranca, became very mistrustful of Napoleon after the annexation of Savoy and Nice. In February, 1861, when the first Italian Parliament met, and Victor Emmanuel was recognized as King of Italy, the relations of Britain and France had become strained. The gratitude of the Italians for the sympathy shown them by Britain contrasted with their resentment at the policy pursued by the French Emperor, who had tried and failed to prevent the union of Italy.

Palmerston's distrust of Napoleon.

The course of events in 1859 and 1860 had illustrated the untrustworthiness of Napoleon III, his dissimulation, his scanty regard for treaties. It seemed quite possible that he was contemplating an invasion of England. Preparations were consequently made against the possibility of a French invasion. The Volunteer Movement, which in May, 1859, had been sanctioned under Lord Derby's Government, was rapidly developed, and the navy and army estimates were increased, Mr. Cobden declaring that "if the French had two ships England ought to have three". The introduction of steam had rendered the reconstruction of our navy, of our arsenals, and of our docks, absolutely necessary, and Palmerston willingly supported an immense expenditure on these objects. The years 1860-1 were in many ways noteworthy. In October, 1861, the Treaty of Pekin brought the war with China to a close, and earlier in the year a valuable commercial treaty was made with France, which came into force in October, 1861. In spite, however, of this treaty, Palmerston and many others continued to distrust the French Emperor, and a National Defence Bill was carried. In 1860 and 1861 commissions were appointed to enquire into the condition of education in England, and in the latter year Gladstone secured the abolition of the paper duty.

The most important event, however, in 1861 was the outbreak of the American Civil War between the Southern, or slave-holding, and the Northern, or non-slave-holding, States, a struggle which brought with it the weakening of the good relations existing between Great Britain

The Volunteers,
the Army, and
Navy, 1861.

The American
Civil War, 1861.

and the Federal Government, Napoleon's ill-fated Mexican project, a cotton famine in England, and disputes over the "*Trent* Affair", and later over the question of the *Alabama*.

Napoleon was indeed affected, and in a most serious manner, by the American War. In 1861 Miramar, the leader of the Monarchist party in Mexico, was overthrown by Juarez, the representative of the Republicans, who

The French intervention in Mexico, 1863-7.

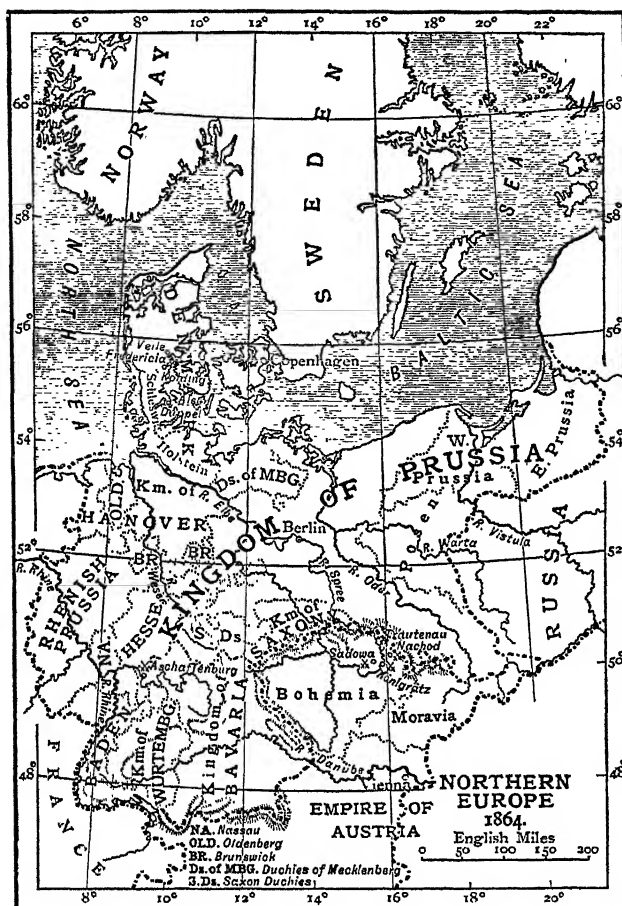
at once repudiated the Mexican debt. In 1862 Great Britain, Spain, and France dispatched a joint expedition to Mexico to enforce payment. This intervention gave great satisfaction to Napoleon, who already had determined to place Maximilian, brother of the Emperor of Austria, on the Mexican throne. Such an act would appeal to Monarchical and Catholic Europe, it would check democratic tendencies in the New World, it would enhance Napoleon's reputation in Europe, and it would strengthen his position in France. As soon, however, as the British and Spanish Governments realized the objects of Napoleon's aims, they withdrew their troops. Napoleon therefore strengthened the French force in Mexico, and in July, 1863, the Archduke Maximilian, who arrived in 1864, was proclaimed Emperor. In 1865, however, the American Civil War came to an end, and large bodies of men who had been fighting in that war flocked into Mexico. Moreover, the American Government insisted on the departure of the French forces, which took place in 1867. The majority of his subjects being opposed to his rule, Maximilian, after a short but gallant struggle, was captured and shot.

In November, 1861, the Southern or Confederate

States sent two representatives, Slidell and Mason, The "Trent" to Britain and France. Though they Affair, 1862. were passengers on a British ship—the *Trent*—they were seized and carried off by a warship belonging to the Federal Government. The British Government at once demanded their release, and war seemed at first imminent; but diplomacy averted that danger, and in December Mason and Slidell were set at liberty.

In Lancashire the war brought great misery, as, owing to the blockade of the ports of the Southern States, cotton, which came mainly from The Lancashire cotton famine. those States, could not be exported to England. Lancashire was filled with masses of starving mill-hands, whose lot was gradually alleviated by an outburst of charity organized by Lord Derby. The war, however, affected Britain in other ways. In 1862 the *Alabama*, which had been built at Birkenhead for the use of the Confederate Government, sailed from the Mersey, and for some two years did much damage to the Northern shipping. Just before the *Alabama* left the Mersey Lord Russell¹ had been warned, but before he had decided on what measures to take the ship sailed. It must be remembered that to fit out warships for a belligerent is contrary to international custom. In 1872 an arbitration tribunal awarded damages to the United States on the ground that sufficient precautions had not been taken by Britain. There is no doubt that throughout the war a strong feeling of sympathy for the Southern States existed in England. Of the leading politicians Gladstone was decidedly a believer in the South, though Disraeli

¹ In 1861 Lord John Russell was created Earl Russell.



seems from the first to have more accurately gauged the superior strength of the Northern States.

Before the close of 1861 the Prince Consort had died, and for many years the Queen took little part in public affairs, though her advice, as in the Schleswig-Holstein affair, was always sagacious. The policy pursued by Britain in Italy had been productive of admirable results, and had brought credit to the ministers. The same praise cannot be awarded them for their policy with regard to the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty, which reached an acute point in 1863 and 1864. For some time past the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, which were then personally united to Denmark, had aimed at securing autonomy, while by the Treaty of London in 1852 the integrity of the kingdom of Denmark had been agreed to by several of the great Powers of Europe. As the duchies were largely inhabited by Germans, the feeling of nationality which was showing itself in Germany, as in Italy, led to a desire to incorporate the duchies in the German Confederation. The death of Frederick VII, King of Denmark, in November, 1863, brought about a crisis. The new King, Christian IX, at once accepted a new Constitution which had been drawn up by his father, and which united Schleswig closely to Denmark. As this act repudiated previous agreements, an opportunity was given to Austria and Prussia to interfere, and on February 1, 1864, their joint forces crossed the Eider. The Danes could offer no adequate resistance, and in August, 1864, Schleswig and Holstein were handed over to Austria and Prussia. Quarrels ensued, but a year later, by the Convention of Gastein (August 20, 1865), it was

The Schleswig-Holstein question, 1863-4.

arranged that Prussia should administer Schleswig and Austria Holstein. In the following year the defeat of Austria by Prussia was accompanied by the annexation of Schleswig and Holstein to the latter state, which henceforward has occupied a strong position on the Baltic.

During the progress of the Schleswig-Holstein affair great excitement prevailed in England. Sympathy for Denmark was widely felt, and it was thought that the joint intervention of Britain and France

Policy of Britain
and France with
regard to Poland.

might be productive of good results. Already, however, the powerlessness of British intervention had been illustrated. Early in 1863 both Britain and France had endeavoured by diplomatic action to alleviate the lot of the Poles, who, owing to an insurrection, were being severely handled by Russia. Russell realized that without the aid of Austria and Prussia intervention by Britain was impossible, but he wrote dispatches while Napoleon made indiscreet speeches. The only results of the Polish business for Britain were that she had lost in European estimation, and that the friendship between her and France sensibly cooled.

Thus, when the Schleswig-Holstein "difficulty" arose, it behoved Britain to act cautiously and prudently, especially when it became evident that no assistance could be expected from Napoleon, who only desired to use the "difficulty" as a means of extending his frontier. In May, 1864, however, Palmerston had used menacing language, and unfortunately this strengthened the belief in Denmark that public opinion in England and France would force their respective Governments to under-

Violence of
Palmerston.

take armed intervention. It soon, however, became quite clear that Napoleon would not give aid to Denmark, and it was equally clear that without France the aid of Britain to Denmark would be insufficient. Denmark was therefore left to her fate.

It must always be remembered that the German inhabitants were in a majority in the southern portion of the Duchy of Schleswig, and were rapidly gaining ground in North Schleswig. The strength of the German case lay in the above fact, and in the opportunities which it gave the young kingdom of Prussia to gain an outlet on the Baltic.

The attitude taken by the Cabinet, and indeed by British public opinion, towards the Danish question was bitterly resented in Germany. According to the view held in Prussia, no European State could become a really great power that was not great at sea. Prussia, it was asserted, was substantially in the right on that occasion, and the outbreak of British public sentiment was certainly to a great extent ill-informed. From that time may be dated the modern German distrust of, and antipathy to, Great Britain.

On March 10, 1863, before the Schleswig-Holstein affair was settled, the marriage between the Prince of Wales (now King Edward VII) and the Princess Alexandra of Denmark (now Queen Alexandra) took place amidst general rejoicing. Otherwise the domestic history of the year was not marked by any other event of greater importance than Gladstone's Budget, which, like the ones in the following years,

The case
for Prussia.

The effect of
Britain's
attitude.

The Marriage of the
Prince of Wales,
March 10, 1863

1864 and 1865, testified to the prosperity of the country and to his financial skill.

In 1865 three events occurred of importance. Of these the first was the outbreak of the cattle plague in England, which involved the farmers in serious losses, and was not stamped out till the following year. In July Parliament, which had sat for a period extending over six years, was dissolved. In the elections, which were held shortly afterwards, the Liberals gained twenty seats, though Gladstone was rejected by the University of Oxford only to be elected for a Lancashire constituency. The third event was the death, on October 18, of Lord Palmerston, who was just about to complete his eighty-first year. He had first entered the House of Commons in 1807, sat in sixteen parliaments, and held office for nearly half a century.

The death of
Palmerston,
October 18, 1865.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ADVENT OF DEMOCRACY, 1865-74

Palmerston's death marks an epoch in British history, and has been described as closing "a transition period through which the country passed in the transition from aristocracy to democracy".¹

The death of Palmerston marks the opening of a new period.

Palmerston has been described as a Tory at the head of a Whig ministry. It is probably more accurate to say that he was a Whig of the old type, and had

¹ Sidney Low and Lloyd Sanders: *History of England*, p. 196.

little in common with the Liberal party which, under Gladstone, became a great power in the country during the next twenty-five years. As long as Palmerston lived, Radicalism had little chance of asserting itself. Similarly, Palmerston's death marks the definite appearance of a new Conservative party under the leadership of Disraeli—a party which, throwing off that “intolerance and inflexibility” which often characterized the old Tory party, attempted at times with success to give Britain a commanding position in the councils of Europe. While Gladstone and the Liberal party came forward with schemes of internal reform, and projects for the improvement of our relations with Ireland, Disraeli advocated the assertion of Britain's imperial position and the closer union of Britain and her colonies. These views were not, however, thoroughly understood and supported till the accession of the Conservatives to office in 1874. In the meantime the country passed through a somewhat unquiet though stirring period in its history.

On Lord Palmerston's death Lord Russell formed a ministry, in which Mr. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons, Lord Clarendon became Foreign Secretary, and Mr. Chichester Fortescue Secretary for Ireland. Mr. Forster was appointed Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and Mr. Goschen entered the Cabinet as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Apparently the ministry was exceptionally strong and destined to hold office for a long period. Within eight months, however, it fell and was succeeded by a Conservative Government under Lord Derby. But during those few

The Russell ministry, 1865-6.

months many important events occurred which demanded the close attention of the ministry.

The cattle plague continued to cause anxiety throughout 1866, in spite of the measures taken by Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary. Commercial panic, 1866. After that year, however, it gradually died out. In 1866, too, the Government had to deal with a commercial crisis at home and with difficulties in Jamaica and Ireland. The prosperity of the country had led to the formation of many new companies and to excessive speculation. The failure of Messrs. Overend & Gurney, a very important financial company, in May, 1866, led to a panic in the city of London, and in order to assist in the re-establishment of confidence the Government allowed the Bank Charter Act to be suspended, and a special issue of bank notes to be made by the Bank of England.

The difficulties outside England were connected with Jamaica and Ireland. In Jamaica an insurrection of the blacks had broken out, and had been suppressed by Governor Eyre with, Governor Eyre and the Jamaica insurrection, 1865-6. it was alleged, unnecessary severity. In consequence of the feeling aroused in England, over the charges made against Eyre, a commission was eventually appointed which, after an interval, reported that the governor had, by his promptitude, suppressed a very dangerous movement, but that many of the punishments inflicted were unnecessary. In 1872 the Government, by defraying Eyre's legal expenses, practically endorsed the view that he had acted on the whole in the best interests of the colony.

The difficulty in Ireland was a more serious matter.

With the close of the American War, and the victory of the North over the South, a large number of adventurers found themselves devoid of employment.

The Fenians. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, 1866.

Many of these adventurers were Irishmen, and these Irish-Americans now turned their attention to Ireland and its so-called wrongs. The establishment of the Fenian organization was practically a declaration of open war, and a paper called the *Irish People* was the organ of the Fenians. Already, in September, 1865, the leaders of the movement in Ireland had been arrested by the Government, and in February, 1866, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. The results of these energetic measures were at once seen. Large numbers of the Fenians fled from Ireland to America, and in May a number of them invaded Canada, only to find that without the support of the United States they could affect nothing.

The Russell Government, however, only saw the beginning of the Fenian movement, for the Reform

Fall of the Russell ministry over a Reform Bill, 1866.

Bill which was introduced in 1866 led to its downfall. As long as Lord Palmerston lived, the extension of the franchise was not definitely taken in hand. From the time of the Reform Bill in 1832 to Palmerston's death in 1865 the franchise in towns was in the hands of the £10 householder. With Palmerston's death, however, the chief obstacle to the reforming energies of Russell and Gladstone was removed, and a Reform Bill was introduced. In the counties the franchise was to be lowered to £14, in the towns to £7. By these reforms about 400,000 persons would be added to the lists of voters. It was not proposed to deal with the question of redistribution.

the efforts of Gladstone and Bright, supported by reform meetings throughout the country, was considerably altered, as were the original proposals for redistribution. The bill passed the House of Commons on July 15, 1867, and shortly afterwards was accepted by the House of Lords, though Lord Derby described it as a "leap in the dark" and as "a great experiment". From that time Britain has become a democracy, and the advice of Robert Lowe, that henceforward we must set to work to educate "our future masters", has been taken to heart, as is testified by the widespread educational movement in Great Britain. By the Bill the franchise was settled thus: In boroughs all male householders "rated to the poor rate, all lodgers resident for one year, and paying £10 of rent, received the vote, and in counties all persons owning property of £5 annual value, or occupiers paying £12 a year".¹

Though the bill was only accepted by Lord Derby as being inevitable, and owed much to the amendments of Mr. Gladstone, the skill shown by Disraeli during the debates had added greatly to his reputation. When in February, 1868, Lord Derby resigned office on account of his age, Disraeli became Prime Minister. Hitherto known as the author of *Vivian Grey* and other novels, and as a politician who was viewed with distrust by the Whigs, and not with over-confidence by the Tories, Disraeli had now justified the "wild ambition" which he had felt some thirty years earlier. His ability had been unwillingly recognized in the days when he and Lord George Bentinck had opposed the Free Trade policy of Sir Robert Peel, and since that

¹ Bright: *History of England*, Vol. IV, p. 428.

time he had never disappointed those who had confidence in his future. He was now the recognized leader of the Conservative party, just as his rival, Mr. Gladstone, had become the accepted chief of the Liberal party.

For many years these two men were to occupy a position in political life somewhat similar to that held by Pitt and Fox. While Gladstone was mainly interested in domestic politics, and in economic and political reforms, Disraeli advocated a vigorous foreign and colonial policy. Both men represented ideals which appealed with varying force to the British race. To Disraeli the growing democratic movement was full of promise, and he saw no reason why the imperialist idea should not appeal to the masses. To Gladstone the abolition of political inequality, and the establishment of economical government, seemed of more importance than the assertion of Great Britain's interest in Continental affairs. "With all his acuteness Disraeli", it has been said, "sometimes misunderstood the British people; and Gladstone occasionally forgot the British Empire",¹ and the writers just quoted have admirably expressed the feelings of those who lived during the years from 1867 to 1880, when the rivalry between the two statesmen was at its height: "Disraeli brought back to English politics the spirit of romance, while Gladstone vindicated the claims of righteousness".²

The ministry, though it only lasted till December, 1868, witnessed an important revolution in the balance of power in Germany, and indeed in Europe.

¹ Low and Sanders: *Political History of England*, p. 222.

² *Ibid.*, p. 222.

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It took part in the settlement of the Luxembourg question; it welcomed the confederation of the Canadian provinces; it compassed the overthrow of King Theodore in Abyssinia; it carried Irish and Scottish Reform Bills, but it failed to lessen Irish discontent.

In 1866 occurred the Six Weeks' War between Prussia and Austria. The latter was overthrown at the battle of Sadowa on July 3. The Treaty of Prague, on August 23, ended the war; and Prussia, which became undisputed mistress of Schleswig and Holstein, assumed the leadership of the German nation. The war thus testified to the complete success of Bismarck's German policy, and Hanover, which had been defeated at the battle of Langensalza, was, with Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Hesse-Homburg, Frankfort, and Schleswig-Holstein, incorporated in the Prussian kingdom. This startling success on the part of Prussia was due in the first place to the far-seeing policy and iron will of Bismarck, but partly to the military skill of Von Moltke, who had armed the Prussian forces with the needle-gun, the first breech-loading rifle to become the weapon of a whole army. During the war Britain and France had preserved neutrality, but Italy had joined in the war against Austria. Though defeated on land at Custoza and on sea at Lissa, the Italians at the end of the war obtained the province of Venetia from Austria.

The French Emperor's projects in Mexico had received their deathblow in June, 1867, when the Emperor Maximilian, who had been established by the aid of French arms, was

executed by the Mexicans. This was a rebuff that he must have felt very keenly, and he now showed much uneasiness at the rapid success of the Prussians, and especially at their occupation of Luxemburg. However, in May, 1867, at the instance of Britain, a conference was held in London, and the neutrality of Luxemburg was guaranteed.

Meanwhile the idea of a Confederation of the British North American Provinces, which had been mentioned in the famous report of Lord Durham, and which had been The Confederation of Canada, 1867. encouraged by successive colonial ministers, had been growing rapidly, partly in consequence of the danger to Canada during the American War, partly owing to the Fenian invasion. It took form in February, 1867, when the confederated Dominion of Canada came into definite existence, by the union of Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, with a Governor-General, a Senate, and a House of Commons for the whole. A great step had been taken towards the realization of a scheme for Imperial Federation, such as Disraeli advocated, and which has now to a great extent been realized. In Canada the project had been warmly supported by the premier, John A. Macdonald.

The change in the position of Canada had indeed been most rapid. In 1857, when John A. Macdonald became First Minister, Canada Sir John A. Macdonald's views realized. consisted of "two small provinces united by a bond of paper, and united by nothing else". In 1850 he had stoutly opposed the idea of friendly separation from Great Britain and union with the United States, and from 1857 had supported the movement for confederation. He had

already a vision of Canada "as a nation, a subordinate but still a powerful people, to stand by Britain in North America in peace or in war". And in 1867 he saw the fulfilment of his views. Canada was, during the next few years, joined by Manitoba, Prince Edward Island, Vancouver Island, and British Columbia, each of which sends deputies to the Dominion Parliament, meeting at Ottawa. Newfoundland still remains outside the Dominion.

As a necessary step in securing the recognition by her Eastern subjects of the fact that her prestige must be upheld, Britain entered upon a war in Abyssinia, 1868. King Theodore had seized and imprisoned some British subjects, and, as he refused to liberate them, an expedition under Sir Robert Napier landed at Massowah in January, 1868, took Magdala, the capital (King Theodore killing himself during the assault), and returned to the coast in May, having achieved all the objects desired.

In the suppression of Fenianism the Government was not so successful. A plan to seize Chester Castle, in February, 1867, by a Fenian force, was frustrated, but in Manchester some Fenian prisoners were rescued and Sergeant Brett was shot on September 18, 1867, while an attack on Clerkenwell Prison by means of gunpowder on December 13 resulted in the deaths and wounding of several innocent people. Allen, the leader of the rescue party in Manchester, and two of his accomplices, were, however, caught and hanged, thus becoming "martyrs" in the opinion of their Irish sympathizers. These events showed the strength of Fenianism, which, while partly a

War in
Abyssinia,
1868.

Fenian troubles,
1867.
The "Manchester
Martyrs".

social, was in the main a national movement, aiming at the independence of Ireland.

On February 27, 1868, on the retirement of Lord Derby, Disraeli assumed the office of First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Cairns became Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Ward Hunt

Disraeli
Prime Minister,
1868.

Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Malmesbury was the leader of the Conservatives in the House of Lords, and that party was joined by Lord Cranborne, who in April succeeded to the Marquisate of Salisbury. The chief question before Disraeli was that of Ireland, brought into prominence by the Fenian movement. Legislation for Ireland was obviously necessary, but being in a minority the ministry had a difficult task before it. In March debates on the condition of Ireland began, and Gladstone, by somewhat suddenly becoming the advocate of the disestablishment of the Irish Church, reunited the scattered forces of the Liberal party. His famous three resolutions on the Irish Church, which demanded the disestablishment of that Church and the suspension of the ecclesiastical patronage of the Crown, were carried. Having passed the Irish and Scottish Reform Bills in July—the complement of the English Reform Bill of 1867—Disraeli dissolved Parliament. In November the elections were held, and though Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington lost their Lancashire seats, a large Liberal majority was returned. Disraeli, therefore, on December 4, 1868, resigned.

On December 9, 1868, Mr. Gladstone had completed the formation of his Cabinet. The Liberal party was now united, and both the Whig and the advanced members of that party were repre-

sented in the Government, while Mr. Gladstone was

Gladstone's
ministry,
1868-74. First Lord of the Treasury, Mr. Lowe was Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord

Hatherley (W. P. Wood) was Lord Chancellor, and the Home, Colonial, Foreign, War, and Indian Secretaryships were held by Mr. Bruce (afterwards Lord Aberdare), Lord Granville, Lord Clarendon, Mr. Cardwell, and the Duke of Argyll. Mr. Childers was First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Kimberley Privy Seal, Mr. Bright President of the Board of Trade, Lord Hartington Postmaster-General, Mr. Goschen President of the Poor Law Board, Lord Dufferin Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Mr. W. E. Forster Vice-President of the Board of Education, and Lord Ripon was President of the Council. It was a Cabinet remarkably strong in talent, and many of its members, such as Cardwell, Goschen, Hartington, Clarendon, and Forster, increased the reputations which they had already won.

In March, 1869, the Bill for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church was introduced. Seventy-five

The disestablish-
ment of the
Irish Church, 1869. per cent of the population of Ireland were Roman Catholics, and in Gladstone's view the Fenian outrages had

been in part due to the existence of an "alien Church" and to the conditions under which land in Ireland was held. The Irish Church Bill, therefore, appeared to him to be the first step towards allaying discontent in Ireland. The Bill, which disestablished and in great part disendowed the Church, was easily carried in the Commons, but considerable changes were introduced in the House of Lords. After a period of no little tension a compromise was arrived

at, and in July, 1869, the Bill became law, but did not take effect till 1871.

The agrarian discontent in Ireland was the next matter to be taken in hand, and as long as that discontent existed political agitation was inevitable. The land law in England ^{The Irish} Land Act, 1870. and Ireland was theoretically the same, but, owing to the different conditions prevailing in the two countries, its working had results in Ireland quite dissimilar from those in England. The Devon Commission in 1845 had reported that when the tenant made improvements his rent was at once raised, and that consequently discontent and disorder arose. In the North of Ireland what was called the "Ulster custom" prevailed, according to which the tenant's rent was not raised on his own improvements. Moreover, the outgoing tenant was allowed to sell his goodwill and improvements to the incoming tenant. On February 15, 1870, Mr. Gladstone introduced his Irish Land Bill, which recognized the Ulster Tenant Right, allowed tenants evicted (except for nonpayment of rent) to be granted compensation, and permitted loans to be made to tenants who wished to buy their holdings from their landlords. The principle of dual ownership was thus recognized, but the Act was a compromise, and did not extinguish the evils which were complained of. The tenant did not get fixity of tenure; the landlord's power of eviction remained. In various ways, too, the landlords could evade the Act. Moreover, the period of agricultural depression throughout the United Kingdom was beginning, and before long it became evident that many tenants could not pay the existing rents.

Consequently the Irish Land Act brought with it no finality, the agrarian agitation in Ireland continued, and in 1871 the existence of a reign of terror in West Meath necessitated special legislation (a Peace Preservation Act) and the dispatch of troops. Many members of the Ribbon Society—a secret confederacy whose objects were mainly agrarian—were forced to fly to America, but the presence of the troops failed to put an end to outrages. Owing to the non-success of the Land Act to establish order in Ireland, Disraeli was enabled in Parliament to twit Gladstone for “his recourse to repressive laws after Parliament, at his bidding, had legalized confiscation, consecrated sacrilege, and condoned high treason”.¹

In addition to the First Irish Land Act the year 1870 witnessed the passing of two very important measures: the Elementary Education Act, establishing School Boards in England; and the War Office Act, which reorganized the War Office. Various schemes had been suggested for the improvement of national education, but eventually that proposed by Mr. Forster in the House of Commons on February 17, 1870, was, with alterations and additions, accepted. In the discussion on the Bill, the ministry was opposed by the extreme Radicals but supported by the Conservatives. The Bill was a compromise, and was far from adequate to the needs of the country, but it at least provided that all children should receive some education. In 1871 the University Test Act was passed, and religious tests were no longer required from members of Oxford and Cambridge Universities.

¹ Low and Sanders: *Political History of England*, p. 243.

Meanwhile foreign affairs had occupied much of the attention of the Government and country. The defeat of Austria at Sadowa, in July, 1866, had established the ascendancy of Prussia in Germany and had imperilled the French Empire. From that year war between France and Prussia was inevitable. The ascendancy in Europe enjoyed by France, from the Crimean War to the Treaty of Villafranca, had rapidly been passing away. The establishment of an Italian kingdom was not in accordance with Napoleon's wishes, while the French failures in Poland and Mexico (the latter of which was a terrible blow to Napoleon's prestige) contrasted badly with the Prussian successes against the Danes and the Austrians. French public opinion was wrongly informed as to the condition of the French army, and loudly supported the demand of the Government that Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a member of the Prussian royal family, should not be allowed by the King of Prussia to accept the Spanish crown, vacant by the expulsion of Queen Isabella, which was offered to him in the spring of 1870. On June 27 Clarendon died, and Lord Granville became Foreign Minister. He at once urged the Spanish Government to withdraw its offer. However, Prince Leopold himself withdrew his candidature, but the Duc de Gramont, the French Foreign Minister, was not satisfied, and while it was reported in France that the King of Prussia had refused at Ems to hold any further communication with Benedetti, the French ambassador, it was believed in Germany that the King had been insulted by the French envoy.

Both nations were anxious for war, and on July

The Franco-German War, 1870-1.

14 war was declared. Success at once attended the German armies, which poured into France, which, owing to financial embarrassments and corruption, was ill prepared for war. After the victories of Spicheren and Wörth (August 6), Marshal Bazaine was besieged in Metz, and on August 31 and September 1 Napoleon was himself defeated at Sedan, and compelled to surrender with his whole army. On September 4 he was deposed, while Paris itself was shortly afterwards besieged. On January 28, 1871, the French capital surrendered, and peace was made on March 3, 1871.

By the events of 1870 and 1871 France had definitely lost her ascendancy in Europe, and her place had been taken by the German ^{Supremacy of Germany.} nation, which had become a powerful empire. On January 18, 1871, King William of Prussia had been crowned Emperor of Germany. The consolidation of the Prussian power and the union of Germany had been due to many causes spread over many centuries. That this consolidation and this union were effected in 1871 was principally due to the foresight, knowledge, and determination of Bismarck. In the matter of Schleswig-Holstein, in the war with Austria, and in the Franco-German war, Bismarck steadily pursued a definite line of policy, which embraced the practical exclusion of Austria from German affairs and the establishment of Prussia at the head of a united Germany. In the pursuit of these objects he had been aided by the friendship and alliance of Russia, by the alliance of Italy, and the political blunders and military unpreparedness of both Austria and France. After 1871 Germany was recognized as the principal European

State. As after the Seven Years' War, so after the war of 1870-1, Prussia led the way in military matters, and was regarded as the chief authority in strategy and tactics. In the region of politics the influence of Germany was not less remarkable, and with rare exceptions that influence has been thrown on the side of peace.

Another result of the Franco-German War was the completion of Italian unity. The departure of French troops from Rome enabled Victor Emmanuel to occupy that city, and make it the capital of United Italy. Russia

Italian unity.
Russia and the
Treaty of Paris.

also took advantage of the occupation of France and Germany to declare herself no longer bound by the terms of the Treaty of Paris signed in 1856. In December, 1870, a Conference met in London; and in March, 1871, it was agreed that the clause in the Treaty which secured the neutrality of the Black Sea should be abrogated, thus allowing Russia to keep in this sea whatever war vessels she pleases, and to restore the fortifications of Sebastopol.

In other respects the years 1870-1 form an important epoch in the history of Europe. Britain, though forced to yield with regard to Russia's abrogation of the Treaty of Paris, had been more successful with regard to another matter. In the event of war between France and Prussia it was obvious that Belgium was in danger of invasion. Granville, however, on August 9, 1870, obtained both from Prussia and France assurances that the neutrality of Belgium should not be infringed.

The Neutrality of
Belgium, 1870.

A more difficult matter to settle had reference to the "*Alabama* Claims", which, by the Treaty of

Washington (May, 1871) between Britain and America, had been referred to arbitration. In December, 1871, an international commission met at Geneva, and in June, 1872, it was decided by the "Geneva Award" that Britain should pay £3,250,000 for damages done to American shipping by the *Alabama*, which, owing to her remissness, had sailed from the Mersey.

In Canada and in West Africa the Government was, between 1870 and 1874, called upon to take action. In Manitoba a rebellion broke out under Louis Riel, which was put down by Sir Garnet Wolseley at the head of imperial troops and the Canadian militia. It was now that Manitoba became a province of the Canadian Dominion, having previously been part of the territories of the Hudson Bay Company.

In West Africa the Ashanti power became so threatening and aggressive that in 1873 it was decided to take action. Sir Garnet Wolesley was placed at the head of a strong force, which in 1874 captured Kumasi, the chief town of the Ashantis, and dealt a crushing blow to their power.

In South Africa the extension of British influence had for the most part proceeded peaceably. In 1871 Griqualand West was annexed to Cape Colony, and the chief town in the territory was called Kimberley, after the Colonial Secretary. The discovery of diamonds in that region, and the inability of the Orange Free State to preserve order, had necessitated the annexation. In 1872 Cape Colony was granted the British system of constitutional government.

In India Lord Mayo and Lord Northbrook, who were successively Viceroy after the return to England in 1868 of Sir John Lawrence, pursued a policy of "masterly inactivity" on the north-western frontier. Both Viceroy, however, were united in insisting that Afghanistan was within the British sphere of influence, and Shere Ali, the Ameer, agreed not to encourage the advances of Russia. In 1872 much excitement was caused by the news that Russia had occupied Khiva, and Granville seized the opportunity for securing a recognition of the claim that the dominions of the Ameer extended to the Upper Oxus.

The Russian seizure of Khiva, 1872.

After 1872 it became evident that the influence and popularity of the Government was waning. In February, 1873, Gladstone introduced an Irish University Bill, which aroused no enthusiasm from any section of

Growing unpopularity of the Government.

politicians, and on March 12 the proposal was defeated by three votes. Gladstone at once resigned, but as Disraeli refused to take office, he returned to power on March 16—the head of an administration which had received a severe blow. In spite of a Budget which showed a large surplus, the popularity of the Government did not increase. An administrative scandal connected with the Post Office caused considerable changes in the ministry. Gladstone became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lowe taking the Home Office, which was vacated by Bruce (who was raised to the peerage as Lord Aberdare), and Bright (who had, owing to his health, left the Cabinet in 1870) taking the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The close of 1873 saw the Government's popularity

in no way increased. Disraeli described the ministers as a number of "extinct volcanoes", and accused them of having "harassed every trade, worried every profession, and assailed or menaced every class, institution, and species of property in the country". Parliament had been summoned to meet on February 5, 1874, but before the end of January came a most unexpected announcement of an immediate dissolution. In his manifesto to the Greenwich electors Mr. Gladstone, who apparently had for some time past been considering the possibility of abolishing the income tax, promised, to the surprise even of his colleagues, the total repeal of the income tax¹ in the event of a general Liberal triumph. The country, however, rejected this appeal, which was regarded as an electioneering manoeuvre, and a large Conservative majority was returned to the new Parliament.

The Fall of Gladstone's ministry. Conservative victory, 1874.

CHAPTER IX

THE GROWTH OF IMPERIAL RESPONSIBILITIES, 1874-80

In February, 1874, Mr. Disraeli formed his ministry. It contained Lord Cairns as Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Richmond President of the Council, Lord Malmesbury Privy Seal, Sir Stafford Northcote Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Cross Home Secretary, Lord Car-

The Conservative ministry, 1874-80.

¹ For the reasons of this sudden dissolution, see Roundell Palmer: *Earl of Selborne, Memorials*, Part II, Vol. I, p. 330.

narvon, Mr. Gathorne Hardy, and Lord Derby Colonial and War and Foreign Secretaries, Lord Salisbury Indian Secretary, Mr. Ward Hunt First Lord of the Admiralty. Other posts were filled by Sir Charles Adderley, Lord John Manners, and Colonel Taylor. The Duke of Abercorn became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, with Sir Michael Hicks Beach as Chief Secretary.

The policy imposed upon the new ministry was unmistakable. The country was weary of legislation, and required a period of rest during which it could assimilate and ^{The policy inherited by it} work the great Acts passed by the late Government. Consequently the new ministry proposed to give the country comparative rest in domestic legislation. In the department of foreign policy the Liberals had not distinguished themselves. Anxious to carry his domestic reforms, Mr. Gladstone had thrown all his energy into questions of internal legislation, and, moreover, when questions of external policy had to be dealt with, Great Britain almost consistently had suffered loss. Neither the Black Sea Conference nor the Treaty of Washington could be regarded by the nation with satisfaction; and, generally speaking, Great Britain's prestige in Europe was far from high in 1874.

In the sphere of domestic legislation the ministry therefore practically accepted the work of its predecessors. The Endowed Schools Act was amended, the Scottish Church ^{Character of its domestic legislation, 1874-80.} Patronage Bill and the Public Workshop Regulations Bill, the latter opposed by Mr. Gladstone, were carried. Mr. Gladstone's retirement from political life in January, 1875, and his

absorption in religious and ecclesiastical questions, together with a general desire for a period of freedom from legislative activity, no doubt contributed to the mildness of the Conservative domestic legislation during these years. The Irish Coercion Bills were renewed, the Judicature Bill was in 1876 completed, the Agricultural Holdings Bill, the Labourers' Dwellings Bill, the Friendly Societies Bill, were passed. At the same time the interests of the poorer classes, and indeed of the whole community, were guarded by a useful amendment to the labour laws.

Disraeli's ministry came into office at a time when the immense possibilities of the British Empire were beginning to be recognized, and the necessity of uniting the various portions of that Empire was being discussed. Various acts of the ministry showed that it was fully alive to the new situation which Great Britain was henceforward to hold in the world. In February, 1874, the Ashanti War was concluded, and the same year Fiji was ceded to Great Britain by the native chiefs. In 1875 the purchase of the Suez Canal shares from the Khedive secured the command of a valuable route to India, and safeguarded British trade from interference. In September the Prince of Wales visited India, which was much perturbed by reports of Russian encroachments on the Afghan frontier.

The same year saw risings in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Turkish provinces in Eastern Europe) led by the Christian populations, the complaints of whom were secretly encouraged by Russia and Austria. In December, 1875, Count Andrassy, the Austrian Foreign Min-

Attention given
to the Empire.

The Eastern
Question, 1875.

ister, issued a "Note", which was accepted in January, 1876, by the British Government, calling on Turkey to carry out reforms. On May 5 the French and German Consuls were murdered in Salonica by a fanatical mob, and British, French, and German fleets moved into the Eastern Mediterranean, the British fleet anchoring in Besika Bay. Meanwhile an anti-Turkish movement in Bulgaria had been the cause of an indiscriminate massacre of Bulgarians in May, while at Constantinople the Sultan had been deposed on May 30, and "found dead"; his successor had been deposed on August 31, and Abdul Hamid proclaimed Sultan.

He succeeded to the Turkish throne at a critical period in the history of the Ottoman Empire. In June Servia and Montenegro had declared war upon Turkey, and the break-up of that Power seemed imminent. But the Servians were easily overthrown by the Turks, who were only prevented from occupying Belgrade by the intervention, on November 31, of Russia, whose representatives secured for the Servians a month's armistice. Russia's aggressive designs were fully realized by Disraeli, who had a difficult task in resisting the popular clamour for a war against Turkey, caused by the publication in the autumn of 1876 of accounts of the "Bulgarian Atrocities". The excitement in Britain was great, and the Government was called upon to throw in its lot with the opponents of Turkey. But Disraeli's chief aim was to establish British supremacy in the East and to checkmate the designs of Russia in Asia and Eastern Europe. "Our duty", he declared, "is to maintain the Empire of England".

Disraeli's anti-Russian attitude.

The years 1877-8 were years of great importance, not only in European history, but also in the history of Great Britain's relations with India.

The Queen becomes Empress of India, 1876.

On January 1, 1877, by the advice of Disraeli (who in the autumn of 1876 had retired into the House of Lords with the title of Earl of Beaconsfield) the Queen assumed the title of Empress of India, and thus the indissoluble connection of Britain with the East was declared.

With regard to the crisis in the East of Europe, Lord Beaconsfield succeeded in preventing Great Bri-

The Russo-Turkish War, 1877-8.

tain from taking any part in the war between Russia and Turkey, which broke out in April, 1877. That war had been preceded by a long period of negotiations and diplomacy culminating in the Constantinople conferences (December 12, 1876, and January 20, 1877).

The outbreak of the war between Russia and Turkey was at first characterized by no striking

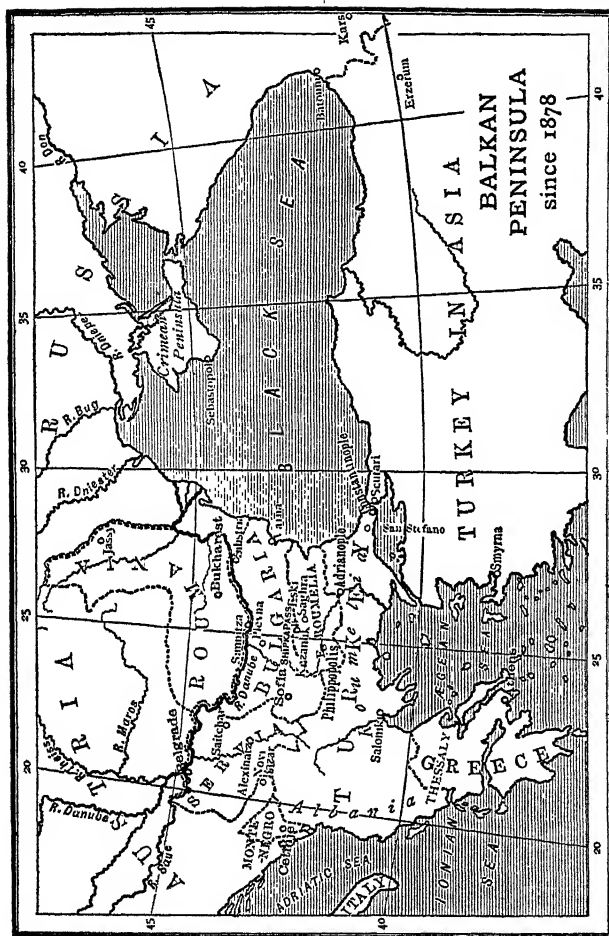
The Siege of Plevna, 1877.

successes on either side. The Russians indeed crossed the Danube, Bulgaria was occupied, and a force under General Gurko advanced over the Balkans, till Constantinople seemed in danger of attack. But Osman Pasha entrenched himself in Plevna, 20 miles south of the Danube, and for five months withstood the repeated attacks of the Russians. The efforts of the Russian general, Todleben, at last proved successful, and on December 10, 1877, Osman capitulated. In Asia Minor the Russians, on November 10, had captured Kars.

After the fall of Plevna the Russians at once ad-

The Russian advance.

vanced, the Turkish defence was easily broken down, and on January 20, 1878, Adrianople was seized. While Turkey appealed to



Great Britain for mediation, the Russians continued to advance, and it was not till March 3 that the Treaty of San Stefano was concluded. Meanwhile the prospect of the Russians occupying Constantinople had roused feeling in Britain. While Mr. Gladstone, the Duke of Argyll, and Mr. Chamberlain advocated the destruction of the Turkish power, Lord Hartington, Mr. Forster, and other Liberals supported the Government in its determination to set, if necessary, limits to Russian designs. On January 23, 1878, it was announced that the British fleet had been ordered to the Dardanelles, and Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon resigned their offices in the Government. The news proved false, as the fleet, after arriving at the mouth of the Straits, had returned to Besika Bay. Lord Derby therefore resumed his office, the Government received strong support in the country, and what is known as a "jingo" (the term from a blatant patriotic song of the day) or militant feeling showed itself strongly in London. It was an anxious time, and naval and military preparations went on unceasingly.

The news of the Treaty of San Stefano, concluded between Russia and Turkey, caused some relaxation in the tension, but it was soon realized that many of the stipulations were unacceptable to the British Cabinet as being too much in favour of Russia and too hard on Turkey. War seemed again imminent, and the resignation of Lord Derby, who was succeeded as Foreign Secretary by Lord Salisbury, was followed by a series of energetic measures. One of these was that 7000 native troops were on April 17 ordered to Malta from India, and the political crisis was not sensibly lightened till

Treaty of San
Stefano, 1878.

May 30, when Salisbury and Shuvaloff came to an agreement with regard to certain questions raised by the Treaty of San Stefano. It was then announced that a congress would meet at Berlin on June 13 to discuss the whole Treaty of San Stefano.

The Berlin Congress was opened on June 13, under the presidency of Prince Bismarck, the various Powers being represented by their chief ministers. Great Britain sent Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury, both

*The Berlin
Congress and
Treaty, 1878.*

of whom were to take an influential part in bringing about a peace which proved satisfactory to Europe. The chief work of the Congress was to register accomplished facts and agreements that had already been come to. To Austria was allotted the right of occupying and administering the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, her first duty being the restoration of order. This arrangement had been agreed upon in 1876 by the Tsar and the Emperor of Austria. Bulgaria was to be divided, the portion north of the Balkans being formed into a single principality, with an elected prince and its own army; while the Bulgarians south of the Balkans, in the country known as Eastern Roumelia, were to be ruled by a Christian hospodar, or governor, nominated by the Sultan. Servia, Montenegro, and Roumania were given independence and received additions of territory. Servia thus obtained the districts of Nish and Mitrowitzza, and Montenegro secured ports on the Adriatic, but was compelled to give up the district of Spizza to Austria. Roumania obtained the Dobrudsha, with the port of Kustendje on the Black Sea. Batum and Kars in Asia Minor, and the Roumanian portion of Bessarabia in Europe,

were ceded to Russia, and the former was declared a free port by the Emperor Alexander. Greece merely gained a slight rectification of frontier. Most of these arrangements had been agreed upon by a treaty between Great Britain and Russia, drawn up before the Congress met.

Great Britain had also, before the meeting of the Congress, taken upon herself the duty of defending the Asiatic Dominions of the Ottoman Empire, and on June 4 the Sultan had handed over to his ally the island of Cyprus, and had promised to carry out reforms in his domains.

On July 13 the Congress closed, and Beaconsfield and Salisbury returned to England, bringing with them "peace with honour", according to the historic declaration of Lord Beaconsfield. Recent events in Turkey have justified the belief, expressed by the two British representatives at the Berlin Congress, in the possibility of a regeneration of what remained of the Turkish Empire.

The Treaty of Berlin marks an epoch in the history of Europe, and many years elapsed before the new arrangements were carried out. Bosnia resisted for some four years the establishment of the Austrian supremacy, and it was not till 1880 that Montenegro was able to get possession of the town of Dulcigno. The Greeks were very dissatisfied with their failure to obtain larger territorial cessions from Turkey. After much wrangling they received, in 1881, Thessaly and a portion of Epirus. More startling were the developments in Bulgaria, where an anti-Russian

Great Britain occupies Cyprus.

Return of Beaconsfield and Salisbury.

Character of the Treaty of Berlin.

party became all-powerful. In 1885 Eastern Roumelia joined itself to Bulgaria, and the united State easily and decisively conquered the Servians in a short war, brought about by the jealousy of Servia at the aggrandizement of her neighbour. Moreover, it is too apt to be forgotten that not the least important result of the Treaty of Berlin was that the alliance of the three Emperors was broken up. Few events in the history of European politics since 1815 have greater importance than this dissolution of a league which had at various times exercised immense influence upon the course of European history.

Till recent times it was customary for historians to decry the main result of the Treaty of Berlin and to write disparagingly of its effects upon Turkey. They allowed that the treaty had saved Turkey from annihilation, but they wrote as if the

Recent events, 1908-9, a justification of Great Britain's support of Turkey.

date of her annihilation had merely been postponed. The regeneration of Turkey in 1908, at the hands of a young Reform Party, has astonished all those who looked upon the steady decline of Turkey as inevitable, and has created a new and interesting situation in the Near East, the importance of which it is too early to gauge.

For some years, however, the failure of the Sultan to carry out the promised reforms gave rise to much adverse criticism of Beaconsfield's Eastern policy, and seemed to justify

Growing weakness of the Government.

the assertion that in 1878 we had "backed the wrong horse". Had, however, a dissolution of Parliament taken place in 1878, there is little doubt that the Conservatives would have gained a substantial victory at the elections. But many supporters of the ministry,

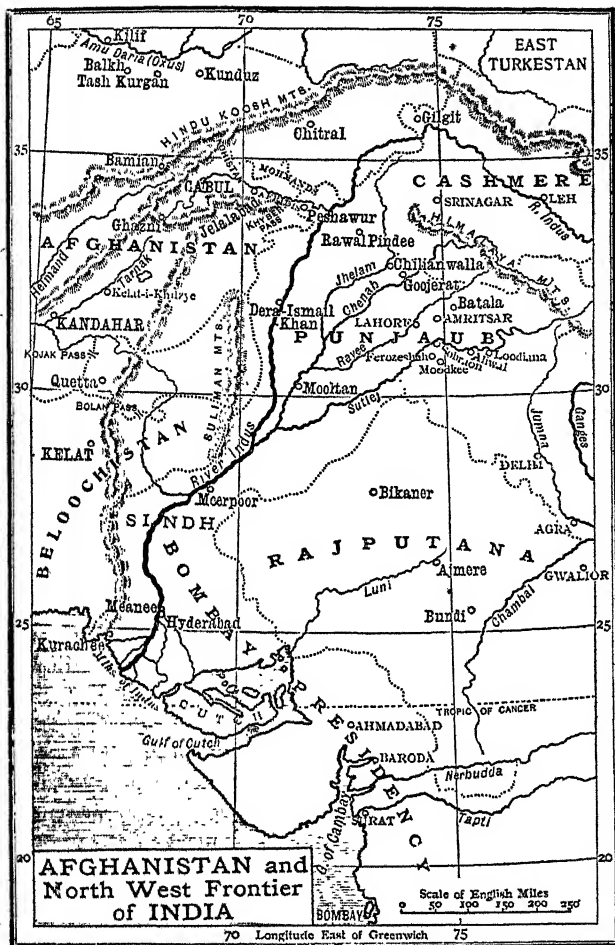
from various causes, were opposed to a dissolution at that time, an unwise decision from a Conservative point of view, as during the ensuing two years the administration steadily lost ground in the country. Its loss of popularity was due not only to the absence of any striking acts of legislation, but to the increase of agricultural depression, and to the adoption of a somewhat adventurous foreign and colonial policy. At the same time the growth of the Irish Home Rule agitation contributed to increase the embarrassments of the Government.

For many years previous to 1874 the policy of the British Government towards Afghanistan had been to cultivate the friendship of the Ameer, but not to interfere directly or indirectly in the affairs of the country. By this policy, which was known as the policy of "masterful inactivity" or the "Punjab Policy", Afghanistan would, it was hoped, remain a friendly state, and could be relied upon to refuse all overtures from Russia. This policy had been adopted by eminent Viceroy, such as Sir John (Lord) Lawrence, Lord Mayo, and formally at Simla by Lord Northbrook in 1873.

Coincidentally, however, with the accession of the Conservative ministry to office in 1874 there came into prominence the "Sindh School" of Indian politicians and soldiers, who advocated the formation of a "scientific frontier". This implied a policy of territorial aggression and "the occupation of the upper side of the passes leading into the plain of India". These views found powerful advocates in Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir Bartle Frere, who favoured the immediate

British Policy in
Afghanistan to 1876.

The new policy,
1875-80.



establishment of British residents at Cabul, Candahar, Herat, and Quetta.

In 1876 Lord Northbrook resigned, and Lord Lytton became Viceroy of India. He at once insisted upon the reception of a British representative in Afghanistan invaded. Afghanistan, which implied the establishment of a paramount British influence at Cabul, and declared that he would take steps to rectify the British frontier. As Shere Ali had lately received a Russian Mission, Lord Lytton had some reason for insisting that the Ameer should also receive a British Mission. The advocates of a "scientific frontier" found in the unfriendly conduct of Shere Ali an opportunity of carrying out their views, and in November, 1878, Afghanistan was invaded by three armies under Generals Roberts, Stewart, and Samuel Browne. These generals overcame all resistance, and Jelalabad and Candahar were occupied. Shere Ali fled, and died in February, 1879, and his son Yakoob Khan, the young Ameer, concluded, in May, 1879, the Treaty of Gandamak. The British demands were accepted, and in July the valleys opening out into the Valley of the Indus were ceded. Sir Louis Cavagnari, with a slender escort, took up his residence in Cabul. The objects of Lord Lytton's policy seemed now to have been secured. But Yakoob's power was by no means established, the confidence of the British Government in his good faith was misplaced, the presence of a British resident in Cabul was resented by the Afghans, and in September, 1879, Cavagnari and his escort were massacred.

A second invasion of Afghanistan was at once

organized, and on October 12 General Roberts, after his victory at Charasia, arrived at Cabul with a well-organized force of 8000 men. The Ameer was deposed, and efforts were made to punish all who had been implicated in the murder of Cavagnari and his escort. Owing to the hostility of the Afghans, however, Roberts had to abandon the offensive and retire into the lines of Shirpur. Though his position was soon rendered secure by re-enforcements the general situation remained for some time very obscure. Ayoob Khan, brother of the deposed Yakooab, reigned in Herat, while Abdoul Rahman, the nephew of the late Shere Ali, also aimed at securing the chief influence in Afghanistan, and was supported by Russia. The Government was anxious to withdraw from Afghanistan, and General Stewart marched from Candahar to Cabul with the intention of organizing a general retirement of the British troops. Before this, in April, 1880, the Liberals had succeeded the Conservatives in office, and a new Viceroy was appointed. On July 27, General Burrows, with about 2500 men, was overwhelmed at Maiwand, situated about 45 miles from Candahar, by a superior Afghan force, which thereupon invested Candahar. In August, however, Roberts executed his world-famous march of over 300 miles from Cabul to Candahar with 10,000 men, overthrew the enemy, and relieved the Candahar garrison. Lord Ripon, the successor of Lord Lytton as Governor-General of India, insisted upon the complete withdrawal of British forces from Afghanistan, and thus the idea of establishing a scientific frontier was finally given up.

The second invasion of Afghanistan, Oct., 1879.

The colonial policy of the Beaconsfield administration was, like its Indian policy, of a noteworthy character. In 1874 the Fiji Islands were annexed, and shortly afterwards Lord Carnarvon, who had done much to bring about Canadian federation, and who hoped to bring all British North America into close union, persuaded the men of British Columbia not to secede from the federation. British Columbia had entered the federation on the promise of the construction of a transcontinental railway, and was annoyed at its being delayed.

The colonial
policy of the
Government.

In South Africa the policy of Lord Carnarvon and the Conservative ministry resulted in difficulties of a serious nature. There the British had established colonial settlements in Cape Colony and Natal. But Dutch colonists had settled in South Africa before the arrival of the British, and many of them became dissatisfied with British rule. Hence, as their numbers increased, bodies of Dutch settlers withdrew inland, where they founded two independent Dutch republics—the Transvaal, the capital of which was Pretoria, and the Orange Free State, whose capital was Bloemfontein.

The history of the formation of these republics is of some importance. In 1814 the possession of the Cape by the British had been definitely confirmed, but the white population was for some years almost entirely of Dutch origin. From that time British immigration began to make itself felt in portions of Cape Colony, but no genuine amalgamation between the Dutch and British was possible, owing to the different views

The British
occupation of
Cape Colony.

held on the question of slavery. In 1834 the abolition of slavery in all British colonies was a severe blow at the Boers' whole conception of life. And when, after a fierce war between the Kaffirs and British, the Great Fish River remained as before the boundary between the White Man and the Kaffir, the dissatisfied Boers carried out, in 1836, the "Great Trek", moved across the Orange and Vaal Rivers, and settled in what became known as the Transvaal.

In 1839 a large body of Boers occupied Natal, but in 1842 the British Government drove out the intruders, and in 1843 proclaimed Natal a British possession. For a time Natal formed ^{Natal and Cape Colony.} part of Cape Colony; it then became a colony by itself, but it was not till 1893 that it was granted responsible government. At the same time able governors, such as Sir George Grey, were strengthening the British occupation of Cape Colony.

Meanwhile important events were taking place north of the Orange River. In 1852 the High Commissioner at the Cape recognized, by the Sand River Convention, the independence of the Transvaal, and in 1854 ^{The Transvaal and Orange Free State.} the British Government formally abandoned, at the Bloemfontein Conference, its claim to sovereignty over the land between the Orange River and the Vaal, known then as the Orange River Sovereignty, and later as the Orange Free State. Thus two independent republics were established. The Orange Free State prospered under able rulers, of whom President Brand (1863-88) was the most famous, and long maintained friendly relations with the British authorities.

The Transvaal Republic, however, had a far from prosperous history. The Transvaal Boers resented the Transvaal civilization, they treated the natives with great severity, they lived apart, their police and administrative system were primitive. In 1875 Delagoa Bay had been declared, according to the award of Marshal MacMahon, the French President, to belong to Portugal. The Transvaal Boers had previously claimed here "a right of way to the sea", which, had the Transvaal not been bankrupt, and in continual difficulties with its Kaffir neighbours, might have proved of great value (as the railway has since been). "In 1877 the Republic was threatened with anarchy and destruction from within, and by a war of extermination from the Zulus (under Cetewayo) beyond the border."¹

To save the Boers from the effects of their mal-administration and unpopularity with the natives, Sir Theophilus Shepstone in 1877 annexed "the helpless Transvaal State" to Great Britain. This step was taken at a time when Lord Carnarvon was convinced of the necessity of forming a confederation of South Africa as a cure for the existing difficulties in that region. The continued danger to small states like the Transvaal, and the Orange River Free State, and to isolated colonies, such as Natal, from the continued existence on their borders of the Basutos and Zulus—warlike tribes who hated the Dutch—justified Lord Carnarvon in his desire to form the various provinces into one confederation.

In 1878 Sir Bartle Frere, the High Commissioner at the Cape, was convinced of the danger to be

¹ Woodward: *The Expansion of the British Empire*, p. 293.

anticipated from the military organization of the Zulus, who in 1877 were preparing an ^{can-}slaught upon the Transvaal Dutch. Sir ^{The Zulu danger.} Bartle Frere at once insisted on obtaining from Cetewayo, the powerful Zulu chief, guarantees of peace, the principal of which was the abolition of his military system, and his acquiescence in the establishment of a British resident in his country. War with the Zulus at once ensued, and on December 12, 1878, Lord Chelmsford entered Zululand at the head of a powerful army. On January 29, 1879, a serious disaster befel that army at Isandula or Isandhlwana, and it was only the brilliant defence of Rorke's Drift (where there were a ford, a store depot, and a hospital) by Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead that saved Natal from invasion. After a period of panic the situation improved, owing to Colonel Pearson's defeat of five thousand Zulus, near Eschowe, which, though cut off from reach of supplies, he held for a considerable time. Meanwhile Lord Chelmsford re-organized his forces, and on March 29 began his second advance. Eschowe was relieved early in April, and in July the Zulus received a crushing defeat at Ulundi, their capital.

The defeat of the Zulus was followed by the settlement of the country by Sir Garnet Wolseley (now Viscount and Field-Marshal), who had ^{Results of the Zulu War.} been sent out to supersede Lord Chelmsford. Zululand was divided into thirteen districts, over each of which a native chief, advised by a British resident, was placed. The overthrow of the Zulu power had, however, results which at the time were not anticipated. That event had relieved the Boers of the Transvaal from all fear of conquest, if not

extermination, and they at once began to agitate for a restoration of their independence. Thus when the Conservatives in 1880 were defeated at the polls they left to their successors a heritage of difficulties in South Africa which led to very disastrous results.

The Conservative ministry had not only adopted a forward policy in South Africa; it had also extended British policy in Egypt. British influence in Egypt in a very marked degree. That country was in 1875 ruled by the Khedive Ismail, an able and ambitious man, who desired to place Egypt in close connection with European politics. The situation of Egypt naturally made it an object of interest to the British Government, and the purchase of the Suez Canal shares by Lord Beaconsfield's Cabinet marked the appreciation felt in Great Britain of the importance of a well-governed Egypt. The French Government was equally interested in the well-being of Egypt. In 1875 Mr. Goschen and M. Joubert went to Cairo in order to reorganize the Egyptian finances, and in 1878 Mr. Rivers Wilson was placed at the head of a Commission of Enquiry. The Khedive appreciated the necessity of reform, and he appointed Nubar Pasha, Mr. Rivers Wilson, and M. de Blignières to be his chief ministers. This rapid extension of European influence in Egypt, however, excited the alarm of the Khedive; but he eventually placed his country definitely under the joint control of Great Britain and France.

The confusion, if not mismanagement, which characterized the conduct of affairs in Afghanistan and South Africa tended to weaken the Government at home. Moreover, its domestic legislation had by

The Public Worship
Act and other
measures.

no means strengthened its position. Three ecclesiastical Bills were produced in 1874, one of which, the Public Worship Bill, produced much excitement. It was supported by the Government and many of the Bishops, its avowed object being to put down Ritualism. The Bill was violently opposed by Mr. Gladstone, and Lord Selborne endeavoured, though without success, to introduce into it certain amendments. The results of the Act were not fortunate. Under the new ecclesiastical judge, Lord Penzance, the Act was severely administered, certain clergymen were prosecuted, and, in the words of Lord Selborne, the Act "added fuel to the fire it was meant to quench"¹. During 1875 several useful Acts were passed, such as the Public Health Act, the Artisans' Dwellings Act, and the Friendly Societies Act, while the labour laws were amended. A useful Land Bill introduced by Lord Cairns, and a Bill brought in by the Duke of Richmond in favour of the tenants of agricultural holdings, were also placed to the credit of the Government in 1875. In 1876 Samuel Plimsoll's Merchant Shipping Bill was finally passed, as was also the Additional Titles Bill, to enable the Queen to add the title of Empress of India to her other titles. During 1876, however, and the following years foreign and colonial matters absorbed the attention of the public, and domestic affairs were relegated to the background. An Irish Judicature Act and an Act for improving the teaching facilities in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge represented the principal achievements in the domestic legislation of the Government in 1877.

After the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin in 1878

¹ *Lord Selborne Memorials*, Vol. II, p. 351.

the Government steadily weakened. It was violently attacked by the new organization of Irish Home Rulers, who, under Charles Stewart Parnell, had separated themselves from the Liberal party. Parnell, whose father was English and mother American, had been at Cambridge University. He held land in Ireland, and was a Protestant. He had now succeeded Isaac Butt and William Shaw as leader of the Irish Nationalists, whose hatred for England and everything English he fully shared. He desired to secure the formation of an Irish Parliament, and in order to bring about the attainment of his wishes he and his followers resolved upon a system of obstruction to all attempts to further legislation in the House of Commons. This system was begun in the session of 1877, the year in which Parnell was elected President of the Home Rule Federation. In October the Irish Land League was formed, and the Fenians again raised their heads. In 1879 and 1880 he expounded his views in America, and declared that he and his allies would not be satisfied till they had "destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England".

This new development of the Home Rule movement had, however, to be dealt with by a Liberal Government. In the autumn of 1879 it was becoming evident that widespread dissatisfaction with the Government existed, due partly to bad trade, partly to the failure of our policy in Afghanistan, where Cavagnari and his escort had lately been massacred, and to the mismanagement of our affairs in South Africa. In 1875 Mr. Gladstone had retired from political life, being succeeded as Liberal leader by Lord Hartington.

Approaching
fall of the
Conservative
Government.

But roused by a consciousness of the necessity of overturning the Government, he emerged from his retirement at the end of November, 1879, and undertook his famous first "Midlothian Campaign", the success of which seemed to confirm the views of those who, like Lord Granville, believed that the ministry "was moving to its doom". Divisions among the Whigs, two Conservative victories at Liverpool and Southwark, and, in his own mind, the conviction that Britain was threatened by a serious danger from Ireland, led Lord Beaconsfield to entertain the view that the Conservative cause was still popular in the country.

On March 8 the dissolution of Parliament was suddenly announced, and Lord Beaconsfield, in a famous letter to the Duke of Marlborough, called attention, with re-
Lord Beaconsfield's letter, 1880.
 markable prophetic accuracy, to the danger which was about to threaten Britain from Ireland. After alluding to the attempt which was being made to sever the constitutional tie which united Ireland to Great Britain, he expressed the hope that "all men of light and leading" would "resist this destructive doctrine".

In reply to this manifesto Mr. Gladstone embarked upon a second Midlothian campaign.
Mr. Gladstone's second Midlothian campaign.
 On March 17, in Edinburgh, a week before the resignation of the Government, the old statesman made a fierce and uncalled-for attack upon the policy of Austria in Eastern Europe. "There is not", he declared, "a spot upon the whole map where you can lay your finger and say: 'There Austria did good'." It is further stated that he even accused the Emperor Francis Joseph

with having, in a conversation with Sir Henry Eliot, our ambassador in Vienna, expressed the hope that the elections would result in a victory for Lord Beaconsfield. As Bismarck, in 1879, had made an Austro-German treaty against any possible attack by Russia, this attack on Austria was deeply resented in Berlin. Owing, however, to the conciliatory conduct of Lord Granville, who became Foreign Minister after the general election, and of the Austrian ambassador at the Court of St. James, the incident had no serious result.

The elections of 1880 had resulted in a complete victory for the Liberals, and the new Parliament contained 349 Liberals, 243 Conservatives, and 60 Home Rulers. On April 18 Lord Beaconsfield had resigned without meeting Parliament, and Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister.

Fall of the
Conservative
ministry, 1880.

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CHAPTER X

THE GROWTH OF THE EMPIRE DURING THE LATER YEARS OF QUEEN VICTORIA'S REIGN, 1880-1901

In the second Gladstone administration Mr. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer as well as Prime Minister, Lord Granville Foreign Secretary, Lords Hartington and Kimberley Secretaries for India and

The second
Gladstone
administration.

stone was Chancellor of the Exchequer as well as Prime Minister, Lord Granville Foreign Secretary, Lords Har-

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political opponents respected his courage, his penetrating judgment, his dignified firmness".¹

Few Governments have had to deal with so many and such difficult questions as that of Mr. Gladstone now had. The rebellion in the Transvaal, the difficulties in Ireland, the occupation of Egypt, all involved decisions which had far-reaching consequences.

The South African troubles were the most pressing when the new Government began its career. The Boers of the Transvaal, freed from fear of the Zulus and other tribes whom the Imperial Government had struck down, were set on recovering their independence. A well-concerted insurrection broke out in the end of 1880, and the few small British garrisons scattered through the interior were beleaguered. To relieve them Sir George Colley collected an inadequate force on the borders of Natal, with which he tried to press forward. He was repulsed at Laing's Nek, and fought another action of an indecisive sort at the Ingogo River. But attempting a third advance, he seized by night Majuba Hill, above the Boer lines on Laing's Nek. From this strong position his troops were expelled next morning by the Boers, and he himself was slain (Feb. 27, 1881). Reinforcements under Sir Evelyn Wood were arriving at the front to renew the contest, when, to the surprise of all, it was announced that Mr. Gladstone had resolved to concede independence to the Boers, whom he regarded as entirely justified in their struggle to be free. The British troops were withdrawn, and the

¹ Sidney Low and Lloyd Sanders: *The Political History of England*, Vol. XII, p. 338.

Transvaal Republic once more came into existence (March, 1881). Gladstone's decision, founded on purely conscientious motives, made necessary the much more laborious and costly South African War of 1899, for the triumphant Boers had now before them the ideal of "South Africa for the Dutch", and had acquired an overweening idea of their own military strength.

In Egypt, the troubles which arose were partly due to the intrigues of the Porte. In 1879, when Tewfik succeeded his father as Khedive, Britain and France established the "dual control" in order to reorganize the Egyptian finances. The Gladstone ministry, on coming into power in 1880, had endeavoured to force the Sultan to carry out the reforms indicated in the Treaty of Berlin, and had thus alienated the Turks. Presently, in 1882, matters came to a crisis in Egypt, and Arabi Pasha, a soldier of fortune, jealous of European interference, headed a rebellion which might at any moment place the Suez Canal in danger. Britain found the Sultan opposed to any action. Fortunately for British interests, Gambetta, who favoured joint intervention by Britain and France, had fallen, and had been succeeded by Freycinet, who failed to grasp the importance of the occasion. France refused to take any active share in suppressing the insurrection of Arabi, and the English admiral, Sir Beauchamp Seymour (Lord Alcester) was compelled, after a terrible massacre of Europeans by the city mob, to bombard Alexandria (July 11-12, 1882), and to land men for the protection of the city. To complete the overthrow of the insurgents and restore order in Egypt, Sir Garnet (now Lord) Wolseley was sent with an

army to Egypt. On August 19, 1882, he landed at Port Said; on September 13 he fought and won the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, and Cairo was occupied. Arabi was captured and exiled, and the British hold upon Egypt was sensibly tightened.¹

The military occupation of Egypt by Britain was now an accomplished fact. The situation was not free from difficulties. Owing to the refusal of the other Powers to join in suppressing Arabi's insurrection, Great Britain had become responsible for the administration of Egypt. At the same time there existed a convention which placed Egypt theoretically under the joint control of the European Powers. Consequently the British Government was in a delicate position. The Gladstone Government had every intention of withdrawing the British troops, as soon as there seemed any possibility of "a stable, a permanent, and a beneficial government being established in Egypt". The force of events had compelled Britain to undertake the duty of suppressing the movement of Arabi, and similarly the force of events had rendered it necessary that the British should remain in Egypt.

There is no doubt whatever that the Gladstone ministry honestly intended that the British force in Egypt should be withdrawn, as soon as its task was accomplished. And in order to accomplish the task of securing to Egypt an administration not only thoroughly stable, but competent to deal with its military, police, financial, and engineering requirements, a

British responsibilities in Egypt.

Evacuation to come after reorganization.

¹ On July 29 Freycinet asked the Chamber of Deputies for a vote of money merely to defray the cost of a plan for protecting the Suez Canal. His proposal was refused by 417 to 75 votes.

number of able men, such as Sir Evelyn Wood, Sir Edgar Vincent, and Colonel Scott Moncrieff were sent to aid in the creation of an adequate Egyptian administration. By 1883 order seemed to have been thoroughly established in Egypt, and the withdrawal of a large portion of the British forces was being arranged, when news arrived of the appearance of the Mahdi (or promised Prophet and religious reformer) in the Sudan, the southern portion of the Khedive's dominions. After the adventurer who gave himself this name had won several successes over Egyptian troops, the Cairo Government sent Hicks Pasha, an English soldier of fortune, against him.

The death of Hicks and the complete overthrow of his forces in December, 1883, set the whole Sudan in a blaze, and from that

The death of
Hicks an epoch,
December, 1883.

moment the evacuation of Egypt was impossible. It is not too much to say that the death of Hicks constitutes an epoch in modern European history. In face of the impossibility of holding the Sudan, where the Mahdi was absolute master, and indeed of the danger of an invasion of Egypt itself, the British ministry had to assume the direction of affairs. It decided that the Egyptian Government should evacuate the country south of Wady Halfa, and that General Gordon, who had been Governor-General of the Sudan from 1877 to 1879, should be sent to carry out the withdrawal of all garrisons in Khartoum and other Egyptian strong places in the Sudan.

On January 18, 1884, Gordon left London for Egypt, his instructions being that he was to arrange for the removal of the Egyptian garrisons in the

Sudan. He made various proposals to the Home Government, which were not approved of, and he succeeded in sending some 2500 people down the Nile and into safety. Apparently Gordon felt himself bound not to retire with the Egyptian soldiers and leave the trading population to be attacked by the Mahdi. Meanwhile, in spite of General Graham's successes against the Mahdi's followers near Suakim, the position of Gordon in Khartoum was rapidly becoming very critical, and it was decided by the Government that an expedition to rescue him should set out as soon as possible. Much time was wasted, however, in the discussion of routes. Instead of adopting Major Kitchener's advice and arranging for "a dash across the Bayuda Desert by a small and carefully organized force", a large body of 10,000 men was dispatched, who, owing to difficulties of transport, advanced slowly.

Gordon's mission, 1884.

On September 1 Lord Wolseley, who commanded the expedition, left England and took his army by the Nile route. On December 30, 1884, Sir Herbert Stewart was sent by Lord Wolseley with a camel corps from Korti to Metemmeh. While crossing the Bayuda Desert he had to fight a serious battle at Abu Klea, and some distance farther on he was mortally wounded. Various unfortunate delays took place after the expedition had reached the Nile. On January 24, 1885, Sir Charles Wilson, who had succeeded to the command, started for Khartoum with two steamers. He arrived on the 28th to find that on the 26th Khartoum had been stormed and Gordon killed.

Wolseley's expedition fails to save Gordon.

In spite of the general anger felt in the country,

and expressed by votes in the House of Parliament, After Gordon's death, 1885. at the dilatory conduct of the Government, which was held to have been responsible for the failure to save Khartoum, the ministry at first decided to continue the war against the Mahdi. The line of advance was to be from the Red Sea, not up the Nile. On March 22 a stiff engagement was fought round General M'Neill's zareba near Suakim. Further operations in the Sudan were, however, suspended for some years, owing to the imminence of a war with Russia caused by the aggressions of that power on the Afghan frontier.

Already, in 1884, the advance of the Russians in the direction of the Afghan boundary had led to the dispatch of General Sir Peter Lumsden The Penjdeh incident, 1885. to meet Russian representatives, in order to settle the frontier question. The continued aggressions of Russian troops, and the assault on some Afghans by General Romanoff at Penjdeh on March 20, 1885, seemed to render war between Britain and Russia inevitable, and the Indian Government made extensive military preparations. The Cabinet, however, aware that Britain was by no means prepared for war, "pushed conciliation to its utmost limits". Lumsden was recalled, lengthy negotiations took place, and it was not till July, 1887, that the boundary question was satisfactorily settled.

Though the Government had, owing to its failures in foreign policy, lost ground in the country, it could at any rate congratulate itself upon The Third Reform Act and the Redistribution Act. the Third Reform Act, which became law in December, 1884. By it the franchise in counties and boroughs was made the

same, there being now established a uniform householder and a uniform lodger franchise, the electorate altogether being increased by about two and a half million voters. Equally important changes were effected by the Redistribution of Seats Act of June, 1885. By it many single-member districts, each having about 50,000 inhabitants, were formed, and all boroughs with less than 15,000 inhabitants ceased to have members of their own. Large boroughs got additional members, and counties and boroughs were divided up into separate constituencies. The Franchise Bill and the Redistribution Bill were carried by an agreement between the Conservatives and Liberals. Ireland, which had been diminishing in population, retained its old number of members, whereby it remained over-represented in the House of Commons. Scotland got twelve additional representatives.

Before, however, those measures were brought forward, some startling political changes took place.

Not only had the Sudan War seriously damaged the reputation of the Liberal Government, but its Irish policy had laid

The Govern-
ment and
Ireland, 1881.

it open to severe criticism. In 1881 a second Land Act, appointing a land court to fix rents for fifteen years, had failed to satisfy the Irish peasants, whose leaders established the notorious Land League. As outrages rapidly increased, and as a system of terrorism (including the practice so well known as "boycotting"¹) spread, the Government was driven to take action. Mr. Parnell and forty other leaders of the Land League were in 1881 imprisoned in Kilmainham

¹ So called after a Captain Boycott, who was one of the first victims of the arrangement, by which none of his neighbours would buy from him or supply him with any of the necessities of life.

jail by the orders of Mr. Forster, who had carried the Protection for Life and Property Act. Disorders, however, increased and showed no signs of abating, even though an arrangement known as the "Kilmainham Treaty" was, early in 1882, made by Gladstone with Parnell and his fellow prisoners, whereby all the prisoners were set free.

Earl Cowper, the Viceroy, and Forster, the Irish Secretary, at once resigned, and the latter was succeeded by Lord Frederick Cavendish, brother of Lord Hartington. Within a week of his appointment he and Mr. Burke, the Permanent Under-Secretary, were brutally murdered in Phoenix Park by some members of a secret society known as the "Invincibles". The horror excited by their deeds was universal, and a Crimes Bill was at once passed, while stringent rules were made in the Autumn Session of 1882 to check obstruction in Parliament. The Irish party was thus thrown into violent antagonism to the Liberal Government, and seized an opportunity, which arose in June, 1885, of uniting with the Conservatives and defeating the Ministry on the Budget.

The failure of the ministry in its Asiatic policy, the death of Gordon, and the general failure in the Sudan, together with the continued discontent, if not anarchy, in Ireland, had by 1885 destroyed the popularity of the Government. Thus Gladstone's second compares very unfavourably with his first administration. No doubt the general agricultural depression which had set in after 1875 was one cause of the prevailing discontent, but the foreign and Irish policy of the Government had failed, and the Cabinet

The Phoenix Park
murders, 1882.

Fall of the second
Gladstone min-
istry, 1885.

itself was torn by divisions. The Liberal party, however, would probably have continued in office for some years, had it not been for the startling development in Mr. Gladstone's views with regard to Ireland.

In June, 1885, when Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister, nothing was known of any changes in the views of Mr. Gladstone with regard to Home Rule. In Lord

The first Salisbury
ministry, 1885-6.

Salisbury's ministry Sir Michael Hicks Beach (since Lord St. Aldwyn) was Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons, and Lord Randolph Churchill took the India Office. Sir Stafford Northcote retired to the Upper House as Lord Iddesleigh, and remained in the Cabinet as President of the Council. The only important measures passed were the Redistribution Bill (in its final stage) and Lord Ashbourne's Act to enable Irish tenants to buy outright their holdings. In November a dissolution took place, and after the General Election the numbers of the Conservatives and Liberals in Parliament was about equal. As the former were resolved to suppress the National League, which had arisen in the place of the suppressed Land League, the Irish party, who held the balance, turned against the Conservatives in January, 1886. Lord Salisbury therefore resigned, and Mr. Gladstone, on February 1, became Premier for the third time.

Mr. Gladstone's third administration marks an important epoch in the history not only of the Liberal party but also in that of the British Empire. The Prime Minister, before forming his Cabinet, declared his desire to establish Home Rule in Ireland. Consequently,

Mr. Gladstone's
third ministry,
Feb.-July, 1886.

while Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan agreed with some reservations to join the ministry, Lords Derby, Hartington, Northbrook, and Mr. John Bright refused office. Nevertheless the Cabinet was a strong one, containing not only Chamberlain and Trevelyan but also Harcourt as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Childers Home Secretary, Campbell-Bannerman Secretary for War, while Lords Rosebery and Granville presided at the Foreign and Colonial offices. A notable addition to the Cabinet was Mr. John Morley, who became Irish Secretary.

Before the close of March the Cabinet was, however, weakened by the retirement of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan, both of whom The First Home Rule Bill, 1886. were dissatisfied with the proposed scheme of Home Rule, which they regarded as likely to result in "separation". That their fears were justified was evident when on April 8 Mr. Gladstone introduced the First Home Rule Bill, followed, a fortnight later, by a Land Purchase Bill. On June 8 the Home Rule Bill was defeated, the Government being in a minority of thirty, and on June 25 the Parliament—the shortest of the reign—was dissolved.

The elections, which were held in July, resulted in the victory of the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists (now a separate party), the former numbering 316 and the latter 78. The second Salisbury administration, July 1886-Aug. 1892. The supporters of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy numbered only 276. On July 26 Lord Salisbury undertook the formation of an administration, as soon as he was assured that Lord Hartington was himself unwilling to assume the leadership of a combined Liberal-Unionist and Conservative Cabinet. Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who pressed the claims of

Lord Randolph Churchill to the position of Leader of the House of Commons, became Irish Secretary, Mr. Matthews Home Secretary, Mr. A. J. Balfour Secretary for Scotland, and Mr. Ritchie President of the Local Government Board.

The six years of the Salisbury administration form a noteworthy period in the history of the British Empire. In 1886 Johannesburg, A period of colonial development sets in. the chief centre of the South African goldfields, had been founded, the Royal Niger Company was constituted, and an agreement with Germany regarding the limits of the British and German possessions in East Africa was come to. The recognition of the value of colonies by European nations, and especially by Great Britain, was further illustrated by the meeting, in 1887, of the Colonial Conference, while in August in the same year Lord Salisbury established the British claim to the Zambesi as the northern limit of British South Africa. In the following year the British South Africa Company was formed, and Mashonaland and Matabeleland were declared to be within the British sphere of influence.

At home Ireland occupied the chief attentions of the Government. In October a "Plan of Campaign" was issued by the Nationalists, inciting the tenants to pay no rent. The Plan of Campaign, 1886. Evictions were the result, and the condition of Ireland rapidly worsened.

On December 23 Lord Randolph Churchill resigned his position as Chancellor of the Exchequer. In the Cabinet he Resignation of Lord R. Churchill, Dec. 23, 1886. had taken up a very confident attitude, and seems to have thought that he could force

his views upon his colleagues, though they included men such as Lord Salisbury, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, and others of great ability and experience. Churchill insisted upon the reduction of military expenditure, although the outlook in South-Eastern Europe had become menacing. Mr. W. H. Smith, Minister for War, refused to carry out the demands of Lord Randolph, who thereupon suddenly resigned. The result of his action was far different from what he had expected. Lord Salisbury secured the acceptance of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer by Mr. Goschen, and the ministry was thereby much strengthened. Mr. Smith became leader in the House of Commons, and Mr. Edward Stanhope replaced Mr. Smith at the War Office.

In March, 1887, Mr. Arthur Balfour succeeded Sir Michael Hicks Beach as Chief Secretary for Ireland, and at once showed vigour, courage, and ability in dealing with the lawlessness of the Irish people. He had to deal with the "Plan of Campaign" and the "National League", the meetings of which were firmly suppressed.

In other respects the year 1887 was notable. Queen Victoria celebrated her Jubilee, having completed the fiftieth year of her reign. On June 21 a thanksgiving service was held in Westminster Abbey. The event was celebrated with enthusiasm in every part of the country, to be followed ten years later by a similar celebration of the Diamond Jubilee. The remaining years of the Salisbury administration were marked by firmness in the administration of the law in Ireland, by the establishment of County Councils as a new development

in local government, and by a rapid colonial expansion.

In 1888 an action was brought against *The Times* in consequence of the publication of "Parnellism and Crime", a series of articles based upon some letters alleged to have been written by Parnell, approving of the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish in 1882. The letters were proved to be forgeries, and Richard Pigott, who had forged them, fled from the country in February, 1889, and committed suicide in Madrid. In 1890 the report of a Special Commission which had been appointed to go into the whole matter was issued. Parnell received £5000 from *The Times* as damages, while the Commissioners found that the allegations concerning the existence of a reign of terror in Ireland were true.

Meanwhile a number of useful measures had been passed by the Government. Of these the most important was that by which County Councils were, in 1888, established in England and Wales, London receiving special treatment. A similar measure for Scotland was passed the following year.

Establishment
of County
Councils, 1888.

Equally important was the development which was taking place in South Africa during the years 1888-90. In 1884 Sir Charles Warren with a British force had prevented some independent Boers from establishing themselves in Stellaland, in territory belonging to the Bechuanas, and so barring the British advance northwards from Cape Colony. After the foundation of Johannesburg in 1886 the gold production of South Africa began to attract great attention, while at the same time the

South Africa.

question of British expansion north of the Transvaal aroused the attention of Cecil Rhodes (an Englishman and Member of Oriel College, Oxford), whose health had compelled him to live mainly in South Africa. In February, 1888, Lobengula, chief of the Matabele tribe, had entered into relations with Great Britain, and in October of the same year Rhodes, by a treaty, obtained mining rights in Matabeleland. In October of the following year the British South Africa Company was founded, and in 1890 its position in what is now known as Rhodesia was safeguarded owing to Lord Salisbury's firm attitude towards the Portuguese, who, possessing Manicaland and the seaport of Beira, made claims, which were settled by a treaty.

Similar developments during these years were taking place in East and South-West Africa, and in those regions' arrangements were made between Great Britain and Germany. In March, 1888, the Crown Prince Frederick (who had married the Princess Royal of Britain) had succeeded his father, the Emperor William. But Frederick himself died in June, and his son, William II, advised by Bismarck, at once entered upon a career of great activity. In 1890, by a treaty with Britain, the German claims in East and South-West Africa were adjusted, Britain's protectorate of Zanzibar was recognized, and Heligoland was ceded to Germany.

With France an agreement was made in the same year with regard to the British and French possessions in West Africa. The French protectorate over Madagascar was recognized, and an Anglo-French delimitation

The Germans
in Africa.

Britain and
France in
Africa.

of Nigeria was effected. In 1890, too, Cecil Rhodes became Prime Minister in Cape Colony, and till his death his influence in South African affairs became paramount.

Meanwhile the ministry at home had to face the continuous efforts of Gladstone and the Home Rulers to carry out their aims regarding Ireland. A fresh Midlothian campaign, in October, 1890, testified to Gladstone's

A new period
with new
leaders, 1890.

great physical strength and to his enormous personal influence. But his efforts were checked by the Parnellite split, mainly caused by a divorce case in which Parnell was involved, followed in 1891 by the death of Parnell himself. The year 1890 also saw the deaths of Lord Granville, of Mr. W. H. Smith, and in 1891 the Duke of Devonshire died. New actors now appeared upon the scene, and new leaders took the place of those who had passed away. Mr. John Redmond took Parnell's place, while Mr. A. J. Balfour succeeded Mr. Smith as leader of the House of Commons, and with Lord Hartington in the House of Lords as Duke of Devonshire, the leadership of the Liberal Unionists in the Commons devolved upon Mr. Chamberlain (February, 1892).

On January 14, 1892, the Duke of Clarence, eldest son of the Prince of Wales (now King Edward VII), died, and his younger brother, Prince George, who had long served in the

Death of Duke
of Clarence, 1892.

navy, succeeded to the position held by the late duke. In June, 1892, Parliament was dissolved. The Conservatives had had a long tenure of office, and among other matters had taken part

The elections
of 1892.

in momentous colonial developments. Under Goschen the finances had been capably man-

aged, education had been made free (1891), the Factory Act of 1891 was accepted by all parties as a necessary and valuable measure. By the Tithe Act a source of irritation, especially to the Welsh Nonconformists, was removed, and in 1892, by the Small Holdings Act, an impetus was given to the creation of small holdings. In the elections the agricultural vote was for the first time of great importance, and was sought for by both political parties. The elections went in favour of the Liberals (though in England itself the Conservatives had a majority of seventy-two), as with the eighty-one Irish Nationalists they had a majority, though a somewhat uncertain one, of forty. On August 11, on a vote of want of confidence, the Government found itself in a minority of forty, and consequently resigned.

For the fourth time Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister, and he at once resolved to bring in his second Home Rule Bill. His Cabinet was, on the whole, composed of strong supporters of his policy. Mr. John Morley again took the Irish Office, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman the War Office, Sir William Harcourt was Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Asquith, who had not as yet held office, became Home Secretary, and Lord Rosebery, whose views on imperial matters and questions of foreign policy were not those held by all his colleagues, returned to the Foreign Office. Through his influence Great Britain retained its hold upon Uganda. In February, 1893, Mr. Gladstone introduced his second Home Rule Bill, which, on September 1, was carried in the Commons by thirty-four votes, but was rejected in the House of Lords by an immense majority.

The year was an important one in the history of our foreign policy, for in Siam a crisis occurred, which for a time rendered war between Britain and France a not unlikely event. Siam, 1893. Disputes between the French and Siamese seemed to betoken the establishment of French influence in Siam, with which country Louis XIV had at one time cultivated friendly relations. The firmness of Lord Rosebery, however, resulted in the conclusion of a satisfactory settlement.

In South Africa 1893 saw the invasion of Matabeleland by a British force, headed by Major Forbes, and accompanied by Dr. Jameson, the representative of the British Chartered Conquest of Matabeleland, 1893. Company. Owing to the delay in obtaining the sanction of the Imperial Government for the invasion, the expedition did not start till October. On November 4 Buluwayo, the capital, was occupied, and Lobengula fled. In pursuit of the King, Major Alan Wilson, with some thirty-three troopers, were surrounded and killed after making a heroic resistance. Thus was Matabeleland conquered, and the warlike and troublesome Matabele were thus brought under British rule. Salisbury, in Mashonaland, and Buluwayo, in Matabeleland, became growing towns, and the way was prepared for the construction of the Cape-to-Cairo Railway—a project always dear to Rhodes.

While these stirring events were in progress in Africa, affairs of importance were taking place in England. On July, 1893, George, Duke of York, the only surviving son of the Prince of Wales, married the Princess Marriage of Prince George, Duke of York, 1893. May (Victoria Mary), daughter of the Duke of Teck.

In the autumn important measures were taken in hand by the Government, which were so severely handled in the House of Lords that, in his last speech in the House of Commons, Gladstone made a vigorous protest against the conduct of the Peers. On March 3, 1894, being eighty-four years old, and unable to agree with the views of the majority of his colleagues with regard to the necessity for a powerful navy, Gladstone resigned.

Gladstone's
retirement,
March 3, 1894.

His place as Premier was taken by Lord Rosebery, who was by no means an unqualified supporter of Home Rule for Ireland. His ministry, which lasted till July, 1895, will be remembered on account of the adoption in the 1894 Budget of the now famous "death duties", and of the rise of Japan into prominence.

Lord Rosebery
Premier.

The question which led Japan and China, in the autumn of 1894, to engage in war concerned Corea, the control of which kingdom was of vital importance to Japan with her ever-increasing population. On November 21 the Japanese captured Port Arthur, and on April, 1895, peace was made, the Japanese receiving the Liao-tung Peninsula and the Island of Formosa. The success of Japan had, however, roused the alarm of Russia, then supreme in Manchuria, and keenly interested in the rise of a new military and naval power in the Far East. Supported by Germany and France, Russia compelled Japan to retire from the Liao-tung Peninsula, which was occupied by the Russian troops. In consequence Great Britain in 1898 obtained from China a lease of Wei-hai-wei, on the southern side of the Gulf of Pechili.

Rise of
Japan, 1894-5.

During the ensuing eight years Britain was fully occupied in Egypt and South Africa. In the Transvaal the discovery of gold had resulted in the rapid development of Johannesburg into an important city. In 1894, by establishing Britain's protectorate over Swaziland, and seizing the land between Swaziland and the sea, Lord Ripon had precluded the Boers in the Transvaal from securing a seaport. President Krüger, however, endeavoured to diminish what he regarded as a disaster to the future of the Transvaal Republic by favouring, in 1895, the building of a railway line between Pretoria and Delagoa Bay, which belonged to the Portuguese. The presence in the Transvaal of some 77,000 Uitlanders, mainly of British race, was distasteful to Krüger, who refused to give them political rights.

Matters thus were in a very unsatisfactory condition in South Africa when, in the summer of 1895, Lord Rosebery's Government, being defeated on what was known as the "cordite vote",¹ resigned on June 24, and Lord Salisbury was called upon for the third time to form an administration.

Parliament was at once dissolved, and at the elections in July, 1895, the Conservatives obtained a majority of 152 over the combined Liberals and Nationalists, and were thus in a very strong position. Mr. Balfour again led in the House of Commons, while Lord Lansdowne became Secretary for War, Sir Michael Hicks Beach Chancellor of the Exchequer,

Affairs in
South Africa.

Fall of
Lord Rosebery's
ministry, 1895.

Lord Salisbury's
third adminis-
tration, 1895.

¹ It was alleged that "an insufficient provision of small-arms ammunition" (cordite) had been made by the Government.

Mr. Goschen First Lord of the Admiralty, and Mr. Chamberlain Colonial Secretary. The ministry was thus a combination of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists.

Matters of great importance at once occupied the attention of the new Government. In August, Chitral, Ashanti, Chitral, on the north-west of India, and Venezuela. which had been the scene of a civil war, was annexed, while an expedition was sent into Ashanti, the capital, Kumasi, being occupied on January 18, 1896. Before 1895, however, closed, two events occurred which seemed likely to endanger the preservation of peace. A dispute between Venezuela and Britain, with regard to the boundaries of Venezuela and British Guiana, led Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, to adopt menacing language, and at the beginning of 1896 it seemed not unlikely that hostilities might ensue. But the firm and temperate attitude of Lord Salisbury averted such a calamity, and the matter was settled late in the year by arbitration, the decision being a complete justification of the British claim.

While, however, the Venezuelan dispute was at its height, Dr. Jameson, on December 29 and the following days, with a few hundred The Jameson Raid, 1895-6. troopers, made his famous and sudden "raid" upon the Transvaal. It was hoped that Johannesburg would rise, support the "raiders", and compel Krüger to give the Uitlanders full political rights. But the inhabitants of Johannesburg did not rise, and Dr. Jameson did not enter the city. On January 1 he was attacked at Krügersdorp by a large force of Boers, and compelled to surrender. The results of this lawless and rash expedition were

serious. The raiders were sent back to England, where the leaders were tried and imprisoned, while the members of the Reform Committee in Johannesburg were heavily fined by the Transvaal Government. Cecil Rhodes, who was anxious that Johannesburg should rise, and who was aware of Dr. Jameson's intentions, resigned the premiership of Cape Colony on January 7, 1896, and in 1897 gave evidence before a committee consisting of Sir William Vernon-Harcourt, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman; and Mr. Labouchere. Rhodes's conduct was censured by the committee, but his name remained among the list of privy councillors, and the Boers continued to believe that the "raid" was encouraged by some members of the Government. The results of the "raid" were, however, very damaging to British influence in South Africa, and tended to embitter the relations of Britain and Germany. On January 3, 1896, the Emperor William had telegraphed to Krüger congratulating him on maintaining the independence of his country. The mobilization of a flying squadron was the reply of England to the telegram and to the threatening language of the American President.

During the year events in the east of Europe roused a strong feeling in Europe against Turkey. Large numbers of Armenians had been massacred in Asia Minor as well as in Armenian massacres, 1896. Constantinople with the connivance or by the contrivance of the Sultan Abdul Hamid. In consequence of the strong opinions of many Liberals in favour of intervention, Lord Rosebery resigned his leadership of the party, and was succeeded by Lord Spencer.

Early in the following year the Greeks entered

into war with Turkey, but were signally defeated.

Turkey and Greece at war, 1897. The misgovernment of Crete by the Turks was the ostensible cause of the war, and shortly after its close, in September, 1897, the island was placed under a High Commissioner, and an autonomous Government set up.

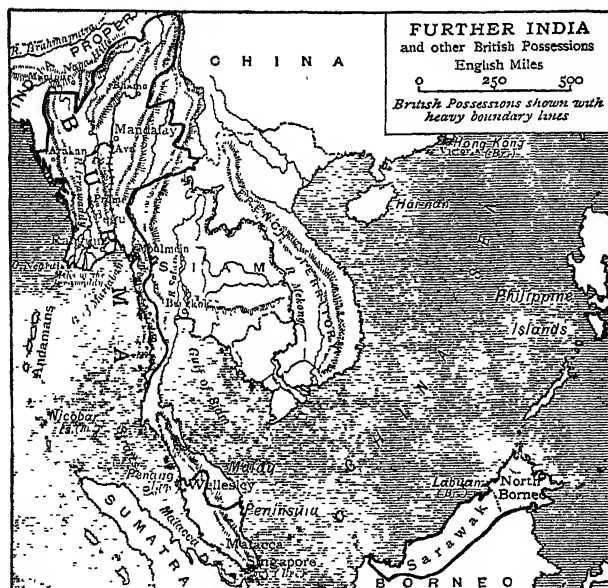
On June 20, 1897, the Queen's second Jubilee was held, in honour of the fact that she had reigned sixty years, being herself seventy-eight years of age. All parts of the Empire sent representatives, and testified to the strength of British influence in all parts of the world. On June 22 a Thanksgiving Service was held at St. Paul's. The occasion was also used for the holding of a Colonial Conference, at which questions concerning Imperial defence and trade were discussed.

The Queen's second or Diamond Jubilee, 1897. The year 1898 was marked by the deaths of Gladstone (May 19) and of Bismarck (July 30). The former had long outlived his great rival, Beaconsfield, though for the last few years he had retired into private life. The eminence of the services which he had rendered to his country was recognized by a public funeral in Westminster Abbey.

Before his death, however, stirring events had already marked the year. War between Spain and the United States, where the long-continued misgovernment of the Spanish colonies was resented, had broken out in April, and in the end the Spaniards were compelled to retire from Cuba and the Philippines. These islands, with Porto Rico, were now transferred to the United States. In the Far East striking developments were seen. In March, Russia occupied Port Arthur, imi-

Cuba and Port Arthur, 1898.

tating the policy of Germany, which power had three weeks earlier seized Kiao-Chau. As a set-off to these acquisitions Britain in April, 1898, as has been already stated, occupied the Chinese port and territory



of Wei-hai-wei. In the autumn events in Egypt endangered the good relations of Britain and France.

There a forward movement, carefully organized and admirably executed by Sir Herbert Kitchener, culminated in the victory of Omdurman (adjoining Khartoum) on September 2, 1898. These successes were followed by the "Fashoda incident",

War in
Egypt, 1898.

caused by the advance of Major Marchand, a French officer, across Africa to the upper waters of the Nile, where at Fashoda he hoisted the French flag. As Fashoda was included in the Sudan, Lord Salisbury refused to recognize the French claims, and after an anxious period of six weeks he gained his point, and the French force was withdrawn. By the beginning of 1900 order was fully established in the Sudan, and Khartoum has become a flourishing town.

A year had, however, hardly elapsed after the battle of Omdurman before war in South Africa became imminent. In June of that year Cecil Rhodes and Herbert Kitchener met at Oxford, where they received honorary degrees. A few months later Rhodes was besieged in Kimberley, and Roberts and Kitchener were advancing to his rescue. The relations of the Boers and the British in South Africa had, ever since the Jameson Raid, become more and more strained. The efforts of Sir Alfred Milner (appointed High Commissioner in February, 1897) in favour of an equitable settlement proved of no avail, and a conference held at Bloemfontein (May 31-June 5) between him and President Krüger made it evident that the Boers were not averse from war. On October 11, the Orange Free State under President Steyn having joined the Transvaal, the two States sent in an ultimatum in peremptory terms and then declared war. The Boers invaded Natal, and besieged Kimberley and Mafeking. The war, contrary to expectation, proved a very serious matter. It lasted two and a half years and cost one hundred and fifty millions of money. In Natal the British had some early successes at the battles of Talana Hill and

The South
African
War, 1899.

Elandsblaagte. On October 30, however, 900 British soldiers were taken prisoners at Nicholson's Nek near Ladysmith, which was itself shortly afterwards besieged by the Boers. A few weeks later Sir Redvers Buller, who was appointed to the chief command in South Africa, arrived in Natal, while Lord Methuen advanced to the relief of Kimberley, and General Gatacre toward the Orange River. In spite of a certain amount of success at first, each of these generals met with a crushing defeat. Buller was badly handled at Colenso on December 15, while on December 10 Gatacre had been defeated at Stormberg, and Methuen at Magersfontein.

In consequence of this "black week" Lord Roberts was sent out as Commander-in-Chief, with Kitchener as Chief of the Staff. They arrived at Cape Town on January 10, 1900, and decided to move up the centre of the country towards Pretoria and Johannesburg. Such a movement would tend to relieve the pressure on Natal, where Buller had again suffered serious repulses at Spion Kop on January 23 and at Vaal Kranz on February 5. Roberts' tactics proved successful. Under French, a dashing cavalry officer, a mounted force relieved Kimberley and aided in the capture of Cronje (who had been holding back Methuen and besieging Kimberley) at Paardeberg on February 27. On March 17 Roberts entered Bloemfontein, and on June 5 Pretoria. Meanwhile Buller had stormed Pieter's Hill on February 17 and had relieved Ladysmith; while on May 18 a well-equipped force relieved Mafeking, which had been held by Colonel Baden-Powell for 218 days.

After the battle of Diamond Hill, east of Pretoria,

on June 11, in which Botha, one of the chief Boer generals, was defeated by Lord Roberts, the first period of the war came to an end. In May the Orange Free State and in September the Transvaal were formally annexed to the Queen's dominions.

From this time till the close of hostilities the war took a guerrilla form, and proved lengthy and wearisome. Lord Roberts had returned home in November, 1900, thinking that the war was practically over, and not anticipating that it was only after a long series of "drives" by Kitchener that the Boers could be induced to submit. Their leaders—Botha, De Wet, and De la Rey—had shown consummate generalship and had made a magnificent resistance to overwhelming odds. On June 1, 1902, Peace was signed at Vereeniging, and the Orange Free State and the Transvaal became portions of the British Empire.

While the war in South Africa was proceeding, the "Boxer" movement, a rising against Europeans, took place in China in the year 1900, and the European Legations at Peking were besieged for many weeks by the rebels. A combined force of British-Indian, Japanese, American, and German troops under Count Von Waldersee reached Peking on August 14 and relieved the Legations. The Chinese Government paid a large indemnity, while Russia, taking advantage of its weakness, occupied the whole of Manchuria.

British troops were also, during the year 1900, employed to suppress a rising in Ashanti, with the result that the country was annexed to Great Britain. Since its annexation a definite beginning has been made to work its rich oil and

Final stage
of the war

The Boxer
rising, 1900.

West Africa, 1900.

gold fields, and West Africa bids fair to become a very valuable possession of the Empire.

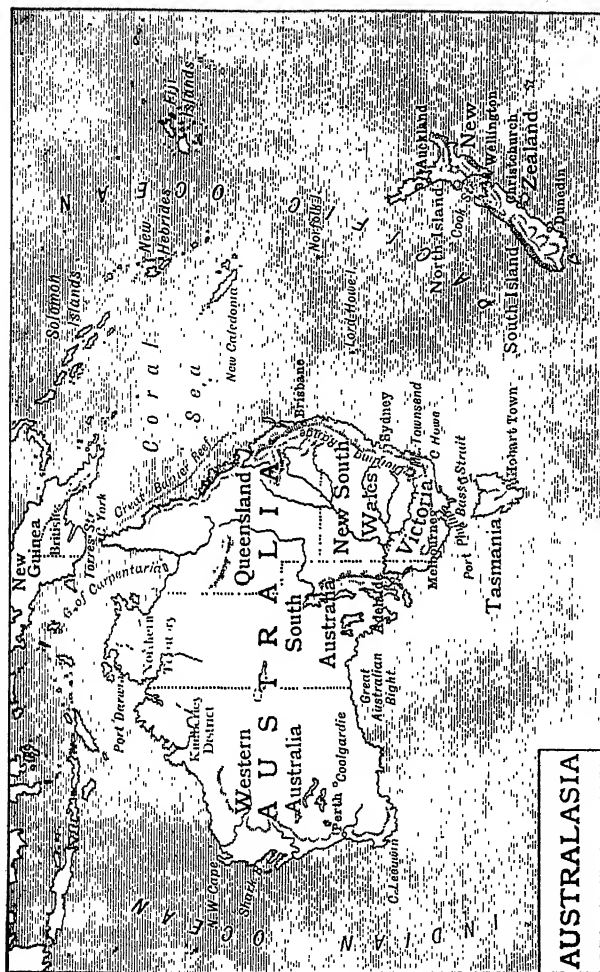
In September Parliament was dissolved, and a general election took place. The country was favourable to continuing the war in
General Election, September, 1900. South Africa, and the Unionists secured a large majority at the elections. Lord Salisbury again became Premier, but in 1902 he retired, and was succeeded by his nephew, Mr. A. J. Balfour.

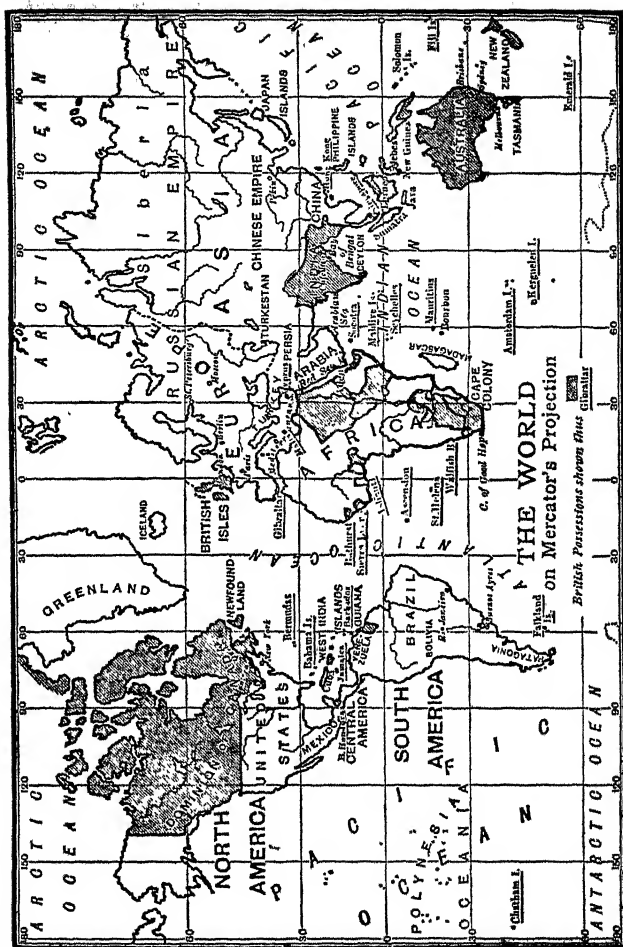
Before the war came to an end the Queen had died. Her health had been failing for some time, and the
Death of the Queen, January 22, 1901. course of the South African War had caused her much anxiety. After a short illness she died at Osborne, in the Isle of Wight, on January 22, 1901, and was buried at Frogmore. She died at the height of her popularity, which she had deservedly won by her patriotism and "incomparable judgment". Genuinely constitutional in all her actions, she strengthened the position of the monarchy in Great Britain, and she died "the embodiment of the national greatness" of her Empire.

EPILOGUE

1901-9

Queen Victoria's eldest son, Edward Prince of Wales, succeeded to the throne, and, during the
Accession of Edward VII, 1901. years that have elapsed since the death of Queen Victoria, has exercised a great influence upon European politics. His knowledge of foreign and domestic politics is pro-





found, and is combined with rich political sagacity. Under his sway Great Britain has enjoyed peace, and at the same time has endeavoured to preserve peace in Europe. So far his reign has witnessed the increase of the tendency already shown by the Colonies to unite closely with the Mother Country. Shortly before Queen Victoria's death the Australian Commonwealth Act came into force, to the great advantage of the Empire, while in 1909 the Federation of the South African States south of Rhodesia became an accomplished fact.

The most important event of Edward VII's reign has been the rise of Japan to the position of a first-class Power. In 1904 the Russo-Japanese war broke out, and, to the astonishment of most people, the Japanese proved successful. The recapture of Port Arthur established their hold upon Corea; they drove the Russians out of a great part of Manchuria, and destroyed the Russian fleet. The war has had results the importance of which cannot yet be fully gauged. In 1905 an Anglo-Japanese Alliance was concluded, which, however, has not prevented friendly relations from being established between Great Britain, Russia, and France.

The Russo-Japanese War, 1904.

The temporary weakness of Russia, in consequence of the war with Japan, has, however, strengthened the influence of Germany, already strong in her alliance with Austria. In India the effect of the rise of Japan has "added confidence to the growing political consciousness of the Indian people". Recent events have also tended to indicate the importance in the history of the world of the defeat of Russia. In

Results of the Russo-Japanese War.

Europe its influence has been seen in a somewhat unexpected manner. When in 1908 a reform movement was organized in Constantinople, Austria, strong in her alliance with Germany, declared Bosnia and Herzegovina, already under Austrian rule, a definite portion of her empire. Owing to the weakness of Russia, the protests of Servia have been ignored, and the annexation is a *fait accompli*.

Thus in the year 1909 the civilized world appears to be on the verge of fresh developments. Since

General position of
Great Britain and
Europe in 1909.

1870 economic development has been one of the most striking features in the history of Europe. The adoption by Great Britain and the non-adoption by other countries of a Free Trade policy has raised questions which must be settled during the ensuing years. At the same time there is in Europe a tendency to increased armaments—naval and other—under the lead of Germany. Such a tendency can only be regarded without alarm by Great Britain if she continues to maintain a navy and army of suitable strength, and to strengthen the ties which bind her, not only to all her self-governing Colonies, but also to France, Russia, and the United States.

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